

British warships head for Falklands

LONDON. — Britain announced yesterday that a naval task force would sail for the Falkland Islands tomorrow, and reports from Buenos Aires suggested that resistance to the Argentine capture of the islands on Friday may have been stronger than at first thought.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told the first emergency Saturday session of the House of Commons since the 1956 Suez crisis that the aircraft carrier *Invincible* would lead the task force. It will take two weeks for the fleet to reach the Falklands.

Thatcher described the Argentine capture of the islands as unprovoked aggression, but declined to say whether the ships would be ordered to engage the Argentine fleet off the Falkland chain, held by Britain since 1833.

Thatcher, whose speech was punctuated by jeers from the Labour opposition for her handling of the crisis, also announced economic reprisals against Argentina, including a freeze on \$1.5b. in assets held in Britain. Britain broke relations with Argentina on Friday.

The Argentine press, meanwhile reported on the armed resistance to the invasion from among the 1,800 civilians — mostly of British stock — on the remote island chain off the southern tip of South America.

The Argentine news agency Noticias Argentinas said military sources cast doubt on government announcements that Britain's entire garrison of marines had surrendered.

The British Royal Marines defending Governor Rex Hunt's residence fought for more than two hours on Friday, killing Argentine Navy Capt. Pedro Eduardo Giacchino and wounding Lt. Diego Garcia Quiroga and Corporal Ernesto

Urbina. Giacchino, already honoured as an Argentine national hero, was hit by a burst of submachine-gun fire and died immediately, Argentine sources said.

Hunt and about 80 marines captured during the military occupation were flown into the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo by an Argentine military transport plane yesterday.

Thatcher, Minister of Defence John Nott and Foreign Minister Lord Carrington faced repeated calls for their resignation as they struggled to explain the loss of the colony over the weekend. The Conservative Party government's

Related stories Page four

handling of the Falklands dispute was assailed from all sides.

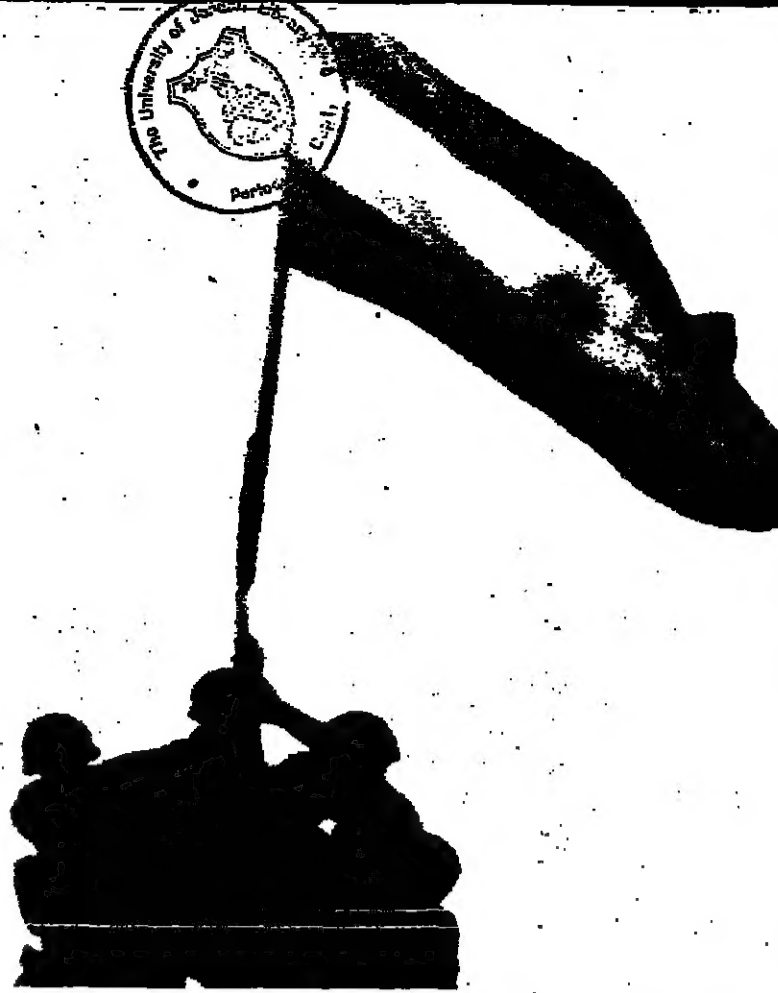
Thatcher sat in the Commons with head bowed and Conservatives groaned as Nott said diplomacy would probably fail to dislodge the Argentinians.

Nott said the task force would be led by the 19,500-ton aircraft carrier *Invincible* and would sail tomorrow. Buckingham Palace said Queen Elizabeth's second son, 22-year-old Prince Andrew, had been recalled to duty as an anti-submarine helicopter pilot and would be aboard the carrier.

The task force will include another carrier, destroyers and frigates with marine commandos, vertical take-off and landing sea carriers and anti-submarine helicopters.

The government has been reticent about giving details of its naval response. But at least one of Britain's nuclear-powered submarines

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Argentine troops raise their flag at Port Stanley after occupying the Falkland Islands on Friday. (UPI telephoto)

Village league leader: 'I'm loyal to Hussein'

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Mustafa Duda, the Hebron area village league leader and former Jordanian cabinet minister, yesterday professed both his Palestinian patriotism and loyalty to King Hussein, despite Jordan's threats of treason proceedings and the death penalty against him and his followers.

"King Hussein is my king, I swore the oath of loyalty to him," he recalled.

"We don't want to shut out the PLO, we are only against war and terrorism and differ from our brothers abroad in our belief in a political solution," he stressed, saying that PLO leader Yasser Arafat was indeed a reasonable man who was able to seek a compromise between the various PLO factions.

Duda said that although he favoured negotiations with Israel on the future of the West Bank and rejects violence and terrorism after over 30 years of "senseless fighting," he would not give up one metre of the land (in the West



Mustafa Duda

Bank). "If (Defence Minister Ariel) Sharon wants me to give Israel even one metre of the occupied territories, I will not accept this demand. Israel has a right to demand arrangements for its security, but not land," he stated emphatically.

Meeting in Tel Aviv with a group of university professors, writers and journalists, Duda appealed to

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Looters stripping Yamit

By MOTTI BEN-YANAI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

YAMIT. — The rape of this town continued over the weekend, as a motley crowd of looters descended on the abandoned homes of former settlers, ripping up floor-tiles, bathroom tiles, baths, basins, cupboards, doors, windows and anything else they could lay their hands on.

Among those stripping the town were Jewish and Arab employees of the contractors hired by the IDF to dismantle installations, reserve soldiers and even members of the Movement to Stop the Withdrawal in Sinai. Members of settlements from across the Green Line took barbed wire and playground equipment, and local Beduin ripped up paving stones and carted them away.

In the deserted industrial area, businessmen, some of whom are still waiting for compensation, defended their factories and workshops, threatening potential plunderers with violence.

Soldiers stationed in the *alef* neighbourhood of the town made bonfires on the verandas and inside the rooms of apartments, using doors and window frames for fuel.

One of the looters told *The Jerusalem Post*: "The town is going to be destroyed anyway before it is given back, we might as well take what we can."

Official dismantling work also continued yesterday with soldiers guarding the operation. The Electric Corporation and the government-owned Industrial Buildings Company personnel were among those dismantling installations and equipment.

Meanwhile, an estimated 3,500 Stop the Withdrawal in Sinai activists have completed their preparations for resisting eviction by the army. A number of homes have been booby-trapped with gas cylinders in such a way that explosions will be detonated killing the families inside if anyone tries to enter.

In other cases, shelters have been hermetically sealed from inside and equipped with food, water and chemical toilets for a long siege.

Women are planning to sit on the edge of roofs so that if approached they will fall off. Other roofs have been fortified with sandbags and barbed wire. They will be defended by youngsters prepared to pelt IDF

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

PLO blamed for murdering Israeli envoy

Jerusalem Post Staff
and Agencies

Israel strongly condemned the terrorist murder of diplomat Ya'acov Bar-Simantov in Paris yesterday and accused the Palestine Liberation Organization of responsibility. Bar-Simantov, the embassy's second counsellor, was gunned down yesterday by a woman terrorist in front of his wife and two of their children.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin scheduled a special discussion of the slaying during today's cabinet session.

Israel television commentator Elimelech Ram, recalling that Israel would regard any terrorist strike anywhere — and not just from Lebanon — as a breach of the July 30 cease-fire with Lebanese-based terrorists, emphasized last night that the Paris attack might prompt an Israeli reprisal.

He said that even if it turns out that a European terrorist group carried out the assassination, the PLO still would be held responsible because of the training facilities it extends to European extremists.

In a statement in Beirut, the PLO denied any connection to the killing. A group calling itself the "Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Brigades" reportedly said it was behind the murder and a submarine-gun attack in Paris earlier last week on the Israeli purchasing mission.

Bar-Simantov, 43, was the first Israeli diplomat killed by terrorists since January 1973, when the air attaché to the U.S., Yosef Ayalon, was ambushed and killed outside his suburban Washington home.

An embassy spokesman said that Bar-Simantov was walking outside his house in the French capital's exclusive 16th District with his family when the woman approached, shot at him and then ran off. His 17-year-old son chased the attacker, who was described as young and wearing a beret, but she disappeared into the nearest Metro (underground) station, the spokesman said.

The embassy said Bar-Simantov, who was in charge of political affairs, received emergency treatment at the scene of the shooting but died



Ambassador Meir Rosenne examines the place where Israeli diplomat Ya'acov Bar-Simantov was murdered in Paris yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

a short time later. No particular security arrangements had been in effect for the diplomat.

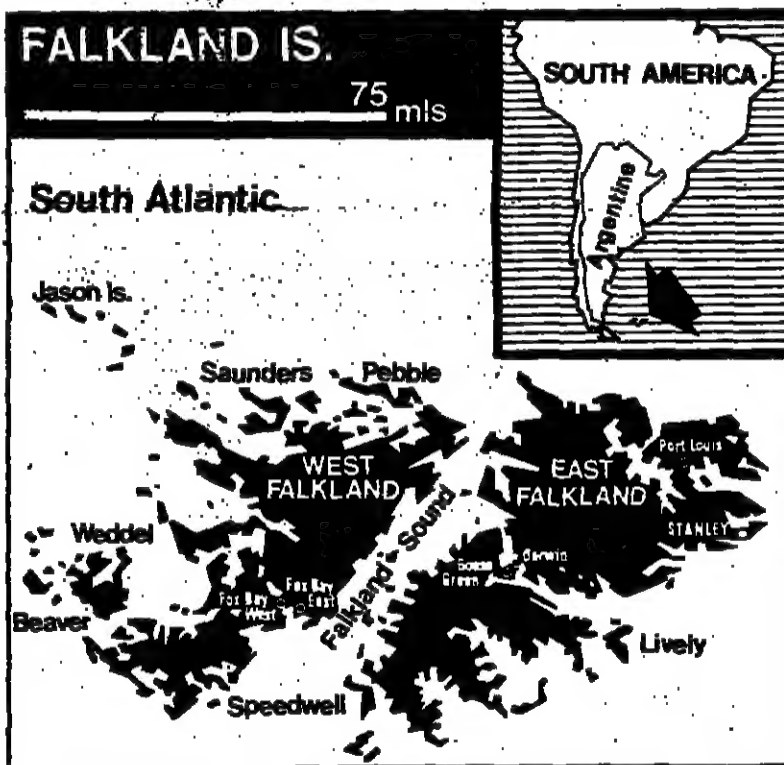
Police said Bar-Simantov was shot three times in the left side of the head with a 7.65-mm semi-automatic pistol. A pistol of the same calibre was used in the slaying of Lt. Col. Charles Ray, 43, a U.S. assistant military attaché, in Paris last February. An identical gun was used in the abortive assassination attempt in Paris last November 12 against U.S. Charge d'Affaires Christian Chapman.

Bar-Simantov's death was expected to heighten fears of French authorities that France has now become a major centre of international terrorism.

On Monday a powerful terrorist blast aboard the Paris-Toulouse express train killed five and injured 27 passengers.

Investigators said that preliminary tests showed that the explosive in the bomb was the same type of plastic used in the bombing of the Paris synagogue three years ago in which three persons were killed.

According to "most authoritative" (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



Saudi defence chief pays sudden visit to Iraq

BEIRUT. — Saudi Arabia's defence minister arrived unexpectedly in Baghdad yesterday and immediately conferred with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on the latest developments in the Iran-Iraq war, the Kuwait News Agency (KUNA) reported.

The sudden visit by Prince Sultan Bin Abdul Aziz came amid mounting apprehension in the oil-rich conservative Arab states of the Persian Gulf in the wake of spectacular Iranian victories in the past fortnight.

Kuna said Sultan conveyed to Saddam Hussein a message from Saudi King Khaled and Crown Prince Fahd "reaffirming their country's support for Iraq in its war with Iran" in its 19th month.

Saudi Arabia fears Iran might export its Islamic revolution to the Arab side of the gulf. It has made large loans towards the Iraqi war effort.

Other conservative Arab rulers in the Gulf, including the emirs of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, telephoned the Iraqi president earlier this week for similar consultations, and Jordan's King Hussein, Baghdad's staunchest ally,

made a brief visit and met all Iraq's military and political leaders.

Three days ago Iran's supreme ruler, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, warned neighbouring Arab states that if they helped Iraq in the war "you will have to fight our fire."

The official media in Syria, Iraq's bitter rival, said Iraq's latest setback on the battlefield would bring the downfall of the Baghdad government.

"The countdown has started and it is only a question of time. This crazy war will not only lead to the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime but will leave its mark on the political map of the area," the government newspaper *Tishrin* said in its editorial yesterday.

On the war front, Iran and Iraq yesterday spoke only of air activity and limited ground action along the southern sector of their frontier — the scene of Iran's major offensive last week.

An Iranian military communiqué, reported by state-run Teheran Radio, said two Iraqi planes were shot down in a dogfight over the southern front's Dezful region. (AP, Reuters)

With deep sorrow we announce the death of
my beloved husband and our dear brother

JOSEPH ISAAC LINTON

The funeral will take place at 3 p.m. on Sunday, April 4
at Ramot Hashavim (Hod Hasharon) cemetery.

Rachel Linton and Family.

U.S. vetoes UN resolution denouncing W. Bank policy

By LEON HADAR
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
and Agencies

UNITED NATIONS. — The U.S. on Friday night vetoed a Jordanian-sponsored Security Council resolution denouncing Israel's policies in the West Bank and calling on Israel to reinstate the three ousted mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and El-Birah.

The resolution received 13 votes in the 15-nation council, with the only surprise being the abstention by Zaire.

(Government officials in Jerusalem yesterday expressed "gratification that the U.S. prevented the passage of a thoroughly warped and unjustified resolution.")

The resolution called on Israel to cease all measures contravening the 1949 Geneva Convention concerning civilians in time of war.

The Arab nations on Thursday had modified an earlier draft resolution to omit the reference to sanc-

tions in order to allow the council's western members — particularly Britain, France and Ireland — to vote in favour of it.

U.S. Ambassador Charles Lichtenstein said the U.S. would have preferred a resolution that would have expressed in a non-condemnatory way the great concern over the "recent tragic events (in the West Bank) which have resulted in injury and loss of life on both sides."

Instead, Lichtenstein said, the resolution "we were called upon to vote on does not take into account the complexity of the problem and would not promote the cause of peace."

However, he added, the situation on the West Bank was one of "belligerent occupation" which, according to the Geneva Convention, "did not require the election of public officials" even though Israel permitted this in 1972 and 1976. The convention also gave the occupying power the unrestricted right to dismiss public officials, he noted.

TV management, journalists in talks to avert crisis

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Last night's Mabat TV news broadcast was once again screened in a truncated form, reflecting the deepening crisis between staffers and management at Israel Television.

A meeting of television newsmen has resolved to lodge a public appeal to prevent what they say is a deliberate attempt by the authority management to prevent them from reporting on events in the country today. They are particularly concerned about the decision to discontinue the *Almost Midnight* news bulletin.

The Board of Directors of the Broadcasting Authority is to hold talks with representatives of the Jerusalem Journalists' Association today, in an attempt to defuse the crisis. The board has promised not to take any action against staffers in advance of today's meeting.

The chairman of the Jerusalem Journalists' Association told *The*

Jerusalem Post last night that his group feels the board may be looking for an excuse to close down Israel Television, possibly as a result of political pressures.

Apart from the dispute with the journalists, the management is faced with demands from the authority's technicians and cameramen, who are refusing to enter dangerous locations unless the authority takes out special life insurance policies for them. They say that the current IS40,000 accident insurance policies are insufficient.

The Friday night weekly news magazine was not screened because of the refusal of the technicians and cameramen to go out without the policies. A short news bulletin was broadcast instead. The midnight news bulletin was cancelled completely after Broadcasting Authority Chairman Yosef Lapid refused to allow the announcer's face to be kept off the screen as a gesture of protest against the management.

HAVE A SPLENDID DAY SPLENDID!



With Splendid - the new
instant coffee from Elite.
Rich flavor and full-bodied
aroma. And each grain is
100% pure coffee.
What a great way to start the
day!



SPLENDID COFFEE: ANOTHER FINE PRODUCT
BROUGHT TO YOU BY *elite*

Winner Jacobson Tamir

The weather at major Swissair destinations

AMSTERDAM	BRUSSELS	BUEENOS AIRES	CHICAGO	COPENHAGEN	FRANKFURT	HONG KONG	JERUSALEM	LONDON	MADRID	MONTREAL	NEW YORK	OSLO	PARIS	RIO DE JANEIRO	SAO PAULO	STOCKHOLM	TORONTO	VIENNA	ZURICH
8 47 12 83	8 47 12 83	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80	18 61 27 80
Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy	Cloudy

For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

Offices in Israel:
Tel Aviv, 53 Ben Yehuda St. (03) 2433 55
Jerusalem, 30 Jaffa St. (02) 2252 33
Haifa, 2 Sea Road (04) 84655

swissair

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cooler with rise in humidity

Jerusalem	Golan	Nahariya	Safed	Haifa Port	Tiberias	Nezareth	Afula	Sharon	Tel Aviv	B-G Airport	Jericho	Gaza	Beersheba	Eilat
17	12-27	18	13	15-30	23	18	12-34	24	18	17-27	24	18	12-30	23
Humidity	15-30	23	18	12-34	24	18	12-34	24	18	17-27	24	18	12-30	23

Governing mayor of Berlin on visit



Richard von Weizsäcker

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The governing mayor of Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, arrived yesterday for a four-day official visit as guest of the government. He will remain here for several more days on a private visit in order to spend the Easter holiday in Jerusalem.

Von Weizsäcker will call on President Yitzhak Navon and will meet with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, as well as with the mayors of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. Today he will lay a wreath at Yad Vashem.

A leading CDU member for nearly three decades, the 62-year-old Dr. von Weizsäcker served in the German Bundestag from 1969 until 1981 when he was elected governing mayor of Berlin 10 months ago. He was also president of the German Evangelical Church Conference.

BRITISH FLEET

(Continued from Page One)

is believed to have slipped off last week for the South Atlantic.

The military government in Buenos Aires yesterday said it would make the Falkland Islands an Argentine province, despite condemnations of its military seizure of the territory.

The junta, led by President Leopoldo Galtieri, said Gen. Benjamin Menendez would become military governor.

Thousands of Argentines waved banners and sang songs in the streets after Galtieri announced that the Falklands (called the Malvinas by Argentina) had been "recaptured."

"We will not double back before an intimidating deployment of the British armed forces which are threatening the indiscriminate use of force," said Galtieri in a television and radio speech to the nation.

Brazil, meanwhile, backed Argentina's claim to the islands.

The Security Council, invoking its mandatory powers, yesterday demanded an immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the Falkland Islands.

The U.S. declared its support yesterday for British demands for an immediate withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Falkland Islands and its readiness to mediate the 149-year-old dispute.

Ambassador Charles Lichenstein, deputy U.S. delegate to the UN, told the 15-nation Security Council that the Argentine invasion "is deeply regrettable and will not produce a just and lasting settlement."

(UPI, Reuters)

HOME & WORLD NEWS

Identity cards torn up by dozens of Druse

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

MAJDAL SHAMS. — Dozens of Golan Druse among the 4,339 who reportedly accepted identity cards tore them up and scattered the pieces on the ground near the entrance to the Interior Ministry office here. *The Jerusalem Post* was told yesterday.

This development followed Friday's clashes over the cards between the local population and IDF forces, in which six soldiers and four residents were injured. Five Druse were arrested for investigation.

The curfew imposed on four Druse villages last Wednesday night was lifted yesterday morning after the completion of the operation to distribute the cards. However, some 200 Druse residents still refuse to accept the cards for political reasons.

According to the OC Northern Command, Aluf Amir Drori, all of the Druse religious and secular leaders, including spiritual leader Sheikh Salman Taher, accepted the cards.

However, the committee for solidarity with the Golan Druse claimed the Army forced the population to accept the cards. The committee claimed that the Druse spiritual leader refused the cards and ordered his followers to collect all the cards and return them to the ministry.

The clashes between the army and Druse broke out at midday on Friday. Hundreds of residents including women and children, took to the main street of Majdala village to protest against the cards. Soldiers ordered them back but they refused. When the soldiers started

dispersing them forcibly the crowd attacked and three soldiers were slightly injured.

Half an hour later hundreds of women, teenagers and children took to the main street of Majdala Shams. They refused to break up even when the soldiers fired into the air. The crowd began stoning the soldiers and three more soldiers were injured.

Four Druse were injured, including a 74-year-old man, a woman and an eight-year-old child. All of the injured were flown to Haifa hospitals by military helicopters.

A military source told *The Post* that the injured residents had taken part in the illegal demonstration.

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon on Friday visited Israel Druse leader Amin Tarif at his home in Julis. Sharon said the army had shut the Druse villages to preserve the state's dignity and to protect moderate people who have tied their fate with Israel against inciters, especially those from the West Bank.

"You, the Druse, who know how to defend your honour, must understand that we had no alternative but to take this action," Sharon said. "From now on we hope that the Golan Druse and the authorities will learn how to improve their relations and open a new chapter."

The Druse leader asked Sharon to take into account the unique conditions faced by his Golan brethren and to free the administrative detainees.

The general strike in the Druse villages today enters its seventh week, although yesterday farmers could be seen in the apple orchards and shepherds were grazing their flocks on public land after producing identity cards at the roadblocks.

About-face by Begin on Goren's talks with Reagan

Jerusalem Post Staff

Confusion on the claims and counterclaims regarding the initiative for Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren's visit to U.S. President Ronald Reagan was compounded over the weekend by an enthusiastic statement issued by Prime Minister Menachem Begin's bureau praising the rabbi.

Goren, the statement read, "fulfilled a most important national mission in his conversation with the president...and his senior advisers. The people of Israel owe a debt of gratitude to the honourable chief rabbi for this praiseworthy task."

Begin's statement on Friday was very different from the statement issued by his office on Monday night flatly denying reports (attributed to Goren) that the chief rabbi had gone to Reagan on a "mission" on behalf of the premier.

It was as a result of that first statement by Begin's office that the chief rabbi became the butt of much news media criticism and ridicule

last week — and apparently to counter this Begin put out his second statement on Friday. Goren told newsmen on his return that he had discussed a "secret" matter of the highest importance with the U.S. president, in addition to briefing him on Israel's political positions and describing the trauma of the Sinai withdrawal. The two men met for 20 minutes. Yehiel Kadishai, head of Begin's bureau, told *The Jerusalem Post* on Wednesday that Goren's call on Reagan was "entirely the rabbi's idea."

Kadishai said that at the end of last year, Goren said he would like to pay "a courtesy call" on Reagan during the course of his planned visit to the U.S. Goren asked Kadishai to arrange the 15-minute meeting and Kadishai contacted the Israeli Embassy in Washington to make the arrangements.

Since Goren was unable to travel to the U.S. at the time, he later asked Kadishai to arrange him a meeting in March.

Kadishai told *The Post*: "I had no idea what Goren wanted to tell Reagan and in any case I

regarded it as a formal courtesy call." The whole incident seemed to amuse Kadishai.

Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg confirmed last night that his ministry had not paid for Goren's trip. (According to informed sources, Burg had actually turned down a request that his ministry finance the trip.) The minister told *The Post* that "the general rule is that any institution sending someone abroad pays the expenses."

The change of mind at the Prime Minister's Office was possibly explained by the final paragraph in the statement it issued: "...The Labour Party reaction team has condemned the meeting of the chief rabbi and the president of the U.S., claiming that 'this meeting brought no honour to the rabbi and to those who sent him'. This is arrogance. It would be better were the Labour Party to defend its honour by not having 20 of its Knesset Members lending moral support to a demonstration where slogans such as 'the Golan is Syrian' and 'Down with the occupation' were displayed."



Jerusalem city councillor Avraham Lazerson of Agudat Yisrael, flanked by two members of the public committee against the amphitheatre in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, visits the site (Elihu Harari)

Aguda reverses stand on J'lem amphitheatre

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A new front in the ultra-religious-secular confrontation in Jerusalem was opened on Friday when the Agudat Yisrael municipal party secretariat decided to withdraw Aguda's participation in Mayor Teddy Kollek's City Council coalition over an amphitheatre at the edge of the Jewish Quarter.

Rabbi Menachem Porush, party chairman in Jerusalem, said in an interview that mass demonstrations would be staged at the site, unless the municipality destroys the structure which is nearing completion.

Noting its location alongside a road leading to the Western Wall, he said "it is not suitable to have an amphitheatre near a holy place." In addition, said Porush, the structure had no building permit.

LOOTERS STRIPPING YAMIT

(Continued from Page One)

soldiers with everything from stones and junk to rotten fruit and vegetables.

The big battle for Yamit is likely to be waged at the town's war memorial, where former student leader Tzahi Hanegbi is installed with 25 followers, seven of them women. Hanegbi, the son of MK Goula Cohen, says he intends to stay in the eight-storey high tower until April 27, one day after the official evacuation date.

MK Michael Reiser (Herut), who visited the Hanegbi group yesterday, reportedly offered them words of encouragement and said he would join the anti-withdrawal Knesset lobby, which the diehards claimed yesterday numbers 25 MKs.

The war memorial has been surrounded with barbed wire and railings and the Hanegbi group claim they have means of countering both the use of tear gas and any attempt to land a helicopter on the tower. Hanegbi said he had written to Prime Minister Menachem Begin promising that soldiers would not be attacked, but insisting that they would be prevented from entering.

Meanwhile, nine people were arrested on a yacht which pulled into the Tel Aviv marina at 2 a.m. on Friday, coming from the direction of Yamit. Twenty-five anti-withdrawal activists landed on the beach at Yamit on Thursday, arriving on a fishing boat which rendezvoused with five yachts that had sailed out of the Tel Aviv marina earlier in the day.

The eight men and one woman on the yacht were questioned by police on suspicion of attempting to enter a closed military area.

Former Prisoner of Zion Yosef Mendeleovich, who arrived in Israel last year after serving 10 years in Soviet labour camps, arrived in Yamit on Friday and announced that he was joining the anti-withdrawal activists in the town.

On Thursday afternoon, a group of some 50 activists of the anti-withdrawal movement including some members of the original Hatzar Adar group, established a "settlement" in a former warehouse of Atzmona some five kilometres from Hof Ha'asara (30km. north of Hatzar Adar).

As of late last night, the army had not taken any action against the group, some of whom installed themselves on the warehouse roof.

FM authorised ban on mayors' meetings

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The Foreign Ministry denied at the weekend that there were "differences" between the ministry and other government agencies over whether to permit a top British diplomat to meet with deposed West Bank mayors Bassam Shak'a and Karim Khalaf. "All reports of (such) differences are untrue," the ministry asserted.

"The decision (to forbid the meetings) was taken at the Foreign

Ministry after consultations with the authoritative security agencies."

The British diplomat, Sir John Leahy, had accompanied Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington to Israel last week and met privately with Mayors Elias Freij of Bethlehem and Rashad Shawwa of Gaza on Thursday. He had planned to meet with the two deposed mayors on Friday but was informed that this would not be permitted.

Ghali calls for 'mutual trust'

CAIRO (UPI). — The only guarantee for preserving peace between Egypt and Israel after April 25, when the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai is completed, lies in strengthening mutual trust between the two nations, Minister of State Boutros Ghali said yesterday.

In an article in the authoritative *October* magazine, entitled "A message for the Israeli people: How we should prepare ourselves beyond April 26," Ghali said the Egyptians and Israelis "should be realistic by not thinking that signing a peace treaty must lead to settling all differences between us. But we should rather expect more misunder-

standing and differences, for this is only natural."

Ghali continues: "The lesson drawn from overcoming difficulties between the two nations in the past should encourage us to begin a new stage in the peace-making process after April 26. We must build together on the basis of our joint conviction in the necessity for a comprehensive peace, and not satisfy ourselves with a separate accord between Egypt and Israel."

Ghali called upon the Arab countries to join in the current peace-making process by "conducting indirect contacts with Israel at this preliminary stage."

PLO BLAMED

(Continued from Page One)

sources" in Paris, quoted yesterday by Kol Yisrael, the murder of the diplomat was likely to be linked to the recent spate of terrorist acts in France attributed to the international terrorist known as "Carlos." The explosion on the train last week coincided with an ultimatum by "Carlos" to the French government to release two terrorists of his organization who were arrested last February in Paris.

They are Swiss-born terrorist Bruno Breguet and 34-year-old West German terrorist Magdalena Kaupp. Breguet was jailed in Israel in 1970 after being convicted of attempting to smuggle in a large quantity of explosives with the aim of attacking the Shalom Tower office building in Tel Aviv. He was sentenced to 15 years, which was later reduced to 10 years.

Breguet was pardoned in 1977 by the then president Ezer Weizman in response to repeated appeals by the Swiss government and by his family.

French Interior Minister Gaston Defferre said last week he was taking the threats of "Carlos" very seriously.

Israel Ambassador to France Meir Rosenne told reporters: "The PLO is at the origin of this attack. This terrorist organization continues to train its leaders in the Palestinian camps. The (West German) Baader-Meinhof gang, the (Italian) Red Brigades — the source is the same. It always consists of the PLO."

"Our diplomat was killed for being a Jew and an Israeli," Rosenne said.

Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson telephone Ambassador Rosenne immediately after learning about the assassination to convey to him France's condolences. The Foreign Ministry refused to make any comment on the assassination.

President Francois Mitterrand also sent a message of condolences to Rosenne.

In Jerusalem Foreign Ministry spokesman Avi Pazner said it was "the second PLO-perpetrated terrorist act in Paris against us in a week. Israel strongly condemns this vile and cowardly act. (It)... sheds further light on the terrorist nature and true aims of the PLO."

Sources in Jerusalem last night said that the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Brigades is one of the extremist arms of the Palestinian terror groups. According to the sources, the group was responsible for murdering Rayand and an earlier attempt on the life of Chapman, an American diplomat, last November.

Bar-Simantov, a former lecturer in international relations at the Hebrew University, is survived by his wife, a daughter and two sons, one of whom is in the IDF.

The murdered diplomat's body will be flown to Israel today for burial.

DESERT GOODBYE

Israeli photographer Farag Perli's exhibition *Farwell Sinai* will be shown starting June 1 in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol in Washington.

The World Zionist Organization and

The Jewish Agency for Israel

deeply mourn the passing of

JOSEPH I. LINTON

who served Zionism in Israel with devotion,

and extend condolences to the family.

In deep sorrow we announce the death of

our beloved husband, father and grandfather

MAX (MORDECHAI) SACKS

The funeral will take place on Sunday, April 4, 1982 — 11 Nissan

5742 at 3 p.m. at the Eretz Haim cemetery in Beit Shemesh

Ben-Zakal and family Ruth Sacks

Olshin and family Naomi Horowitz

Families in Israel and abroad Anne and Renee

Shiva at 6 Rehov Barkai, Ramat Gan.

YOACHIM TENNENBAUM

suddenly passed away on April 1, 1982

after a full and happy life.

Deeply mourned by his friends and all who knew him.

'Mankind 2000' conference Big Powers assuming tough anti-nuke stand

BY YACOV FRIEDLER
and NATHAN SHAHAR
Jerusalem Post Reporters

HAIFA. — British military historian John Keegan said last week that he discerned two "significant facts" regarding Israel's raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Baghdad last June.

"Iraq no longer has a plant to make fissionable material and nobody is punishing Israel," he said, perceiving this as confirming his view that "the big powers are assuming a much tougher stand to deny nuclear weapons to small, volatile and potentially irrational states."

Keegan, who is taking part in the "Mankind 2000" conference at Haifa University, made his remarks in response to questions at a luncheon with the press.

Keegan is hopeful that nuclear war will be avoided because the heads of the nuclear powers, who must personally make the decision, have a clear understanding of its consequences. Unlike conventional warfare or military history, whose consequences may be hard to understand, "nuclear warfare has a crudity that is easily understood." Therefore, faced with a decision of such extremely oppressive and urgent importance, the statesmen will not agree to be rushed and will demand time for reflection. "Time is a most important commodity in times of crisis," Keegan noted.

Keegan said that though the world has avoided a great war for 40 years, six million people died in smaller wars since 1945. But with today's high technology and precision weapons, the belligerents in a conventional war may well knock out all each other's weapons within the first day or two, leaving them nothing to fight with. "They will then still have to deal with the same political problems they went to war for, and I cannot say how they would handle them."

Keegan, whose recent book *The Face of the Battle* has just been published here in Hebrew, is currently a senior lecturer in war studies at the Royal War College at Sandhurst.

Another "Mankind 2000" speaker was feminist leader Betty Friedan who said "I speak not as a woman but as an agent of evolutionary change. The sex role revolution is the first hopeful change in our era."

In its first stage in the sixties the feminist revolution was perhaps a strident fight of female against male, Friedan said, but that was superseded by the second stage of "woman and man having to fight alongside each other."

Judge David Bazelon of the Washington Court of Appeals spoke of the need for adapting the law to the rapid advances in technology, such as genetic engineering, cloning sperm and eventually embryo banks.

Mary Jo Banes, of the U.S. Department of Education, said that half the mothers in the U.S. now work outside the home, and though 27 per cent of the GNP is being spent on social services, their burden of looking after the family has not been relieved.

Prof. Albert Rosenfeld, specialist in human biological chemistry and genetics, said genetic engineering will be able to create new strains of seeds that will produce higher food yields to feed the growing population.

Sociology Prof. James Coleman of Chicago foresaw the possibility that couples in industrialized societies will no longer see any use in having children. They are no longer an economic advantage, as in the past, but a burden, drawing parental attention away from their careers. He proposed various ways of reversing the situation, pointing to the kibbutz as an example, though it has little chance of being imitated.

James Miller, architect of the "World University" project, said 300 data banks in the U.S. are already able to provide through satellite technology the information needed to set up a world university. The conference continues until tomorrow evening when participants will meet with Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem.

Yad Vashem honours priest, couple

Two tree-planting ceremonies in honour of a Lithuanian priest and a Dutch family are to take place in the Avenue of Righteous Gentiles at Yad Vashem this week.

Tomorrow, the late Bronius Paukshys, a Roman Catholic priest who saved at least 200 Jews, many of them children, will be honoured.

A number of the survivors live in Israel today and testified to his brave acts, for which he had been rebuked by the church leadership in Lithuania.

His close friend, Antanas Savaliuskas, who is a resident in Soviet Lithuania will plant the tree and receive the special Yad Vashem medal.

On Tuesday, Johanna van der Meer will plant a tree and receive a medal on behalf of herself and her late husband Frederick, in recognition of their activities in the Dutch resistance and their hiding Jewish children in their home during the Nazi occupation.



Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren looks on while Finance Minister Yoram Aridor signs a document on Friday authorizing the sale of all the nation's hametz (leavened bread) to a non-Jew before Pessah. (Sheila Poplik. Scoop 80)

Golan prepares for Pessah visitors

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Hundreds of young members of the Moshav Movement pitched in over the weekend to prepare hiking trails in the Golan Heights and Mt. Hermon area for the huge influx of visitors expected during the Pessah holiday.

The young volunteers marked off some new trails and improved some of the existing trails in such places

as Nahal Sion, Nahal Sa'ar, Nahal Yehudia and Zavitian.

The volunteers are also helping out at the archeological dig at the Crusader city at Banias, at the ancient synagogue in Katzin and at Gamla.

The work is being organized and supervised by the Nature Reserves Authority, the Israel Defence Forces, the Golan regional council and the Golan field school.

Police seek new clues in girl's slaying

By JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Police are using ultra-modern scientific methods developed abroad to try to find new clues to the murder and mutilation of 11-year-old Nava Elimelech.

A police source, however, said yesterday that no further details could be disclosed at this time without harming the investigation.

Nava disappeared from her Bat Yam home on March 20. Her severed head and thigh washed up on the Country Club beach at Tel Aviv last Monday.

The newspaper and plastic bag that the head was wrapped in and bits of newspaper on the hand found last Thursday on the same beach are vital pieces of evidence, it was reported.

WALL STREET WEEK Rally indicates optimism

NEW YORK (AP). — An early-spring rally in stock prices has touched off speculation that the market might be anticipating some improvement in the U.S. economy later in the year.

Very few Wall Street analysts foresee any immediate strong recovery from the recession that has gripped the U.S. since last year.

On Friday, the government reported that the unemployment rate reached 9 per cent in March, equalling its highest level in the post-World War II era.

And the index of leading

economic indicators, which is designed to function as a kind of early-warning system, has fallen for 10 straight months.

But some observers say the market's gains over the past three weeks could at least be considered a signal that traders have begun to look beyond the bad news that dominates the headlines at present.

The Dow Jones Average of 30 industrial stocks climbed 20.65 to 838.57, on top of gains of 8.26 and 12.27 points in the two preceding weeks.

After falling from 875 at New Year to about 795 in early March, the average has since recouped more than half of that loss.

U.S. delegation to discuss MFO funding

A delegation headed by U.S. Senator Robert Kasten, (Republican-Wisconsin), will visit Israel from today to Thursday. The delegation will confer with government leaders on the Multinational Forces and Observers.

The delegation includes James Bond and Richard Collins, staff members, Senate subcommittee on foreign operations; Jane McGhee, staff assistant; Robert Mantel, director, special projects, Bureau of Political and Military Affairs, state department and Capt. Joseph Kimmitt, U.S. Army.

The delegation does not plan to hold a press conference.

Fewer adoptable babies, but more applicants

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Two factors have prompted the Adoption Service to lower the maximum ages at which a couple may apply to the service to adopt a child. They are the decreasing number of babies available for adoption and the increasing amount of time it takes to receive a baby, now approximately four years.

Aviva Leon, head of the service, announced on Friday that starting this month, a couple in which the wife is more than 35 years of age (previously 40) and the husband more than 40 (previously 45) may not apply. This does not apply to couples who applied before April 1, 1980, but does apply to those who did so after that date.

The Adoption Service is part of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Leon explained that because of the increasing number of applicants and the decreasing number of babies, the waiting period will soon grow from four to six years. It is not advisable, she said, that a couple should first become parents after the wife has passed 40 and the husband 45. Only 150 babies were adopted through the service last year, and 124 couples have been waiting since 1978.

The new age restrictions will not apply to couples who want to adopt older children or those with special needs stemming from illness or some handicap.

As of April 1, 1,538 couples had applied for adoption, with 1,214 of those for babies only.

In a related matter, the couple who petitioned the High Court of Justice in February to prevent the Adoption Service from taking back the baby they received last November, was referred by the court to the service's own appeal board. According to a ministry source, the court said it could not rule on the substantive decision of the service, nor could it consider the case until the couple had exhausted other legally available remedies.

The couple, Lea and Eliahu Saporta, claimed in their petition that the service sought to reclaim the baby because it was displeased with the mother's attempt to have a "test-tube baby" a week after the child was put in their care.

Elimination of Jews called 'self-castration'

By DAVID KRIVINE
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

An Oxford University professor believes that "the elimination of the Jews from Europe in Hitler's time has created a cultural sterility and barrenness which makes that continent a sad place."

According to Michael Howard, Regius Professor of Modern History, "pre-war Germany, more than any other country, depended on the presence of the Jewish element. Their exclusion was an act of self-castration. The Germans today are pathetically unable to create their own culture, and depend on the outside world."

Howard was speaking on *Imperialism, Nationalism and War* in a series of three lectures last week at Tel Aviv University, in commemoration of the late Yigal Alon, former foreign minister.

There are two forms of nationalism, comprehensive and exclusive, he said, adding that the Nazis opted for the latter. Israel's strength today is that it possesses a

varied inheritance culled from the Diaspora. This yields a rich national culture, not because it is purely Jewish, but because it is wide-embracing, he said.

All nations before 1945 were created by war, except for Norway, he continued. A dominant linguistic group within a territory imposes its will on the others. When nationalism became a principle at the time of the French Revolution, most of France's inhabitants did not speak the official language of their country. They spoke a variety of local tongues, now down-graded to the status of *patois*.

Howard said that had the wars fought for nationhood ended up differently, the world's frontiers would probably not be where they are. There might be a Burgundy (instead of the rump state of Belgium), a Catalonia, an Armenia, a Kurdistan, a Ukraine.

The big states that arose in Western Europe after the Middle Ages proceeded to extend their process of domination to backward

continents, partly because they felt the duty to civilize the lesser breeds. This infuriated the Jews of Palestine, who did not like to be treated as pupils. Britain's colonial-service officials were not used to such recalcitrance, and bad blood ensued, the professor stated.

Howard said that Israel emancipated itself from imperial tutelage likewise through war. The leadership provided at that particular time and in that particular place by Yigal Alon and his gifted fellow-patriots might have been a decisive factor in Israel's emergence and the determination of its frontiers.

The right of conquest by "superior" cultures was applied for the last time in Germany's invasion of Russia under Hitler. Today self-determination is the platform of a free society, he said.

But, according to Howard, the question still remains how far a nation can split up into smaller and smaller groups. There is a clash between the need on the one hand to be diverse and multi-cultural, and on the other hand, to remain a coherent whole.

Howard also pointed out (and here there was a plain hint at Israel's present situation) that "defence by a nation of its liberty cannot be at the expense of other people's liberty. Otherwise the victory will be short-lived," he warned.

WEEKLY STOCK MARKET REVIEW Share prices pushed higher for second week in row

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A favorable mixture of political, fiscal and investment factors combined to push share prices to higher levels. The General Share Index advanced by 1.5 per cent and for the second consecutive week established a new high for the year.

Both the Sinai evacuation and Land Day passed fairly uneventfully with no negative effect on stock prices.

Keeping in mind past and anticipated tax changes many observers anticipated a flood of sell orders, as companies were expected to divest themselves of their share holdings.

This indeed proved to be the case; but a strong buying surge on the part of the country's mutual funds, in a last ditch effort to improve their yields for the first quarter of the calendar year, was enough to offset the selling.

The mutual funds gave the share market a tone of firmness and only late in the week did the general public begin to make itself felt.

Optimism was further engendered when Bank Leumi announced its annual balance sheet on Wednesday which reflected real gains in total assets and in earnings. The new issue of a 100 per cent share bonus recommendation was also well received by the investment public.

The new issue market also con-

tinued to bloom as Incoeva Ltd. reported that it had received orders for its first time ever financing issue totalling 15836 m. and reflecting an oversubscription of more than 63 times the amount on offer. In view of the demand the company announced that it was allocating 1.5 per cent of the amount requested.

The General Share Index statistics did not mirror accurately some of the strong advances which were registered last week. No fewer than nine individual securities achieved advances of more than 25 per cent. At the top of the list were the IS 0.5 shares of Man which soared by 51 per cent. Two real estate companies, Caesarea and Ispro, surged ahead as they recorded weekly gains of 36 per cent, each.

The index-linked bond market continued to be depressed as the Bank of Israel, for the greater part of the week lent a supporting hand by stabilizing prices. On the last day of the month prices did move ahead as the pension funds and other institutions went on a one-day buying spree.

Index-bonds continued to trade at levels which indicate a real loss in value since the outset of 1982.

AWARD. — Health Minister Eliezer Shostak will receive the Humanitarian Award, a prize given annually by the American Red Magen David for Israel, at a luncheon at the New York Sheraton Hotel later this month.

"HAVE A FOOTHOLD IN ISRAEL"

"HERZLIYA HEIGHTS"

from \$62,500

2 room apartments this month only

SERVICED APARTMENTS

WITH SWIMMING POOL AND TENNIS COURT

ONLY A FEW MINUTES FROM HERZLIYA'S MEDITERRANEAN BEACHES AND FROM TEL-AVIV:

HERZLIYA PITUAICH
Kikar Hazionut
Tel. (052) 70261

"CITY APARTMENTS"

JERUSALEM'S NEWEST SERVICED APARTMENTS

from \$122,000

Centrally located in the heart of Jerusalem At Hamashbir Plaza, corner Ben Yehuda St.

- Professional management • Restaurant and cafeteria
- Coin-operated washing machines • Sabbath elevator
- Switchboard and reception desk • Telephone in every apartment • Underground parking facilities

JERUSALEM
2 Rehov Hasoreg (POB 7064)
Tel. (02) 22161-4

INCOME FROM RENT IN YOUR ABSENCE

ANGLO-SAXON REAL ESTATE AGENCY LTD.

ISRAEL'S LEADING REAL ESTATE ORGANIZATION WITH 27 BRANCHES

Just Opened!

The MANDARIN HOTEL... sun and sea are reflected on the 14 stories towering over Tel Aviv's Mediterranean coastline.

The MANDARIN HOTEL... Tel Aviv's newest and most luxurious resort hotel, a few short minutes from the heart of the city, yet with the exclusive atmosphere of an international resort.

The MANDARIN HOTEL... over 300 rooms all with sea view... self contained suites... in-pool bar and grill... grand ballroom for weddings and other celebrations... health club... disco... special children's programmes.

MANDARIN HOTEL... the ultimate in holiday pleasure.

Mandarin Beach, P.O. Box 48170
Tel Aviv 61480, Israel
Tel: (03) 428161
Telex: 342433 ITO IL

U.S.A. — 111 High Ridge Road, Stamford Conn. 06905
Tel: (203) 357-8281
U.K. — 32-33 Marylebone High St. London W.1.
Tel: (01) 486-7938

A TASTE OF THE GOOD LIFE

Sole Agents for Israel:
Mr. Alderman Ltd.
Haifa 47 Hamael St., Tel. 04/663521 04/663033
Tel Aviv, Merkazim Building, 32 Kibbutz Kalyot St., Tel. 03/826520

THE ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA

TEL AVIV,
Mann Auditorium
Tonight — 4.4.82, 8.30 p.m.

LIGHT CLASSICAL MUSIC

Concert No. 4
JESUS LOPEZ-COSOS
conductor
ILAN ROGOFF
piano

Programme of works by
Glinka, Rachmaninoff, Turina, de Falla

TEL AVIV,
Mann Auditorium, 8.30 p.m.

SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT No. 8

JESUS LOPEZ-COSOS
conductor
URI PIANKA
violin

Programme of works by
Haydn, Bartok, Dvorak

Series 7: Monday, 6.4.82
Series 8: Tuesday, 6.4.82

TEL AVIV,
Mann Auditorium
Saturday, 10.4.82, 8.30 p.m.

SPECIAL CONCERT

as part of the
"Young Artist" Week
of America-Israel
Cultural Foundation
ITZHAK STEINER
conductor
SARA JANOVSKY-TAL
piano
YEHUDA SCHRYER
guitar

Programme of works by
Villa-Lobos, Prokofiev, Tchaikovsky

ALON SHVUT,
Community Centre
Sunday, 11.4.82, 8.30 p.m.

SPECIAL CONCERT

ISAAC STERN
conductor and violin

Programme
Beethoven: Romance for Violin and Orchestra
Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto
Brahms: Sextet for Strings

TEL AVIV,
Mann Auditorium
Saturday, 17.4.82, 8.30 p.m.

PHILCLASSICA

Concert No. 3
ISAAC STERN
conductor and violin

Programme
Beethoven: Romance for Violin and Orchestra
Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto
Brahms: Sextet for Strings

'Iron Lady' faces a tough decision

ONDON (UPI). — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday faced a bleak choice in the wake of Argentina's seizure of the Falkland Islands.

She has to decide whether to launch an expensive and dangerous military operation to recapture a colony 14,000 kilometres away, or to concede the islands to Argentina and suffer a political defeat that would almost certainly end her career at the next general election.

All involved in the dispute apparently already agree that there is a hope of dislodging Argentina diplomatically.

The decision whether or not to launch a counterattack therefore will be based largely on political considerations.

The Argentine invasion was a

particular blow to Thatcher not only because it hit the pride of the Conservative Party, but also because it was a body blow to her personal "iron lady" image.

The attacks she received from her own party members in yesterday's emergency debate as well as the staunchly Conservative press swiftly showed how little support Thatcher might now get from her allies.

"The prospect of the government being humiliated by the Argentines," said *The Financial Times*, "strikes at the heart of the Conservatives' pride and patriotism, and could have serious implications for the future of the party."

Against this political pressure, Thatcher announced that a task force would sail for the Falklands tomorrow. But she was careful not

to commit the government to military action yet because she will have two weeks while the fleet sails south to decide whether to go through with an attack.

Here the other problem emerges. It was one thing for 4,000 Argentine troops to overcome about 80 British Marines 720km. off the Argentine coast. It will be quite another for British forces to dislodge maybe up to 20,000 Argentine troops on islands 14,000km. from their shores — however sophisticated their weaponry.

It will be an extremely tricky military maneuver, British naval analysts said. Because the nearest support base, Ascension Island, is so remote, there can be no parachute landing and no air support except from an aircraft carrier.



Members of the British Royal Marines arrive in Montevideo on Friday after being evacuated from the Falkland Islands following the Argentine takeover. (UPI telephone photo)

U.S. vetoes resolution on Nicaragua 'invasion threat'

UNITED NATIONS (UPI). — The U.S. vetoed a resolution Friday that called on all UN members to denounce the use of force, stemming from Nicaragua's charge that a U.S. invasion of its territory was imminent.

The resolution called for negotiations to settle the political problems of Central America peacefully. The council vote was 12-1 with Britain and Zaire abstaining.

Panama introduced the resolution Thursday at the end of a 10-day debate on Nicaragua's invasion charge.

U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick denounced the Nicaraguan complaint during the debate as a propaganda move to distract attention from the elections in El Salvador.

She said the problems of the area should be settled by the Organization of American States and opposed any UN action on the Nicaraguan situation.

Kirkpatrick was not present for the vote but Deputy Ambassador Charles Liechtenstein stressed: "The door for negotiations and reconciliation remains open."

Kirkpatrick earlier dismissed Nicaraguan leader Daniel Saverio Ortega's "great fear" of invasion by the U.S. as groundless. "The U.S. has no intention of invading Nicaragua or anyone else," she said.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto said his country was prepared to begin negotiations with the U.S. later this month.

Responding to Kirkpatrick's assertion the U.S. did not intend to invade, he said: "Thank you, but Nicaragua is not satisfied, since no mention was made of covert aggression."

The Panamanian resolution did not mention the U.S. It merely called for respect of the UN charter's basic principles in the context of the Central American disputes.

Kurdish leader asks self-determination

WASHINGTON (AP). — A plea for self-determination on behalf of millions of Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria was delivered on Friday by Ismet Chirif Vanly, secretary-general of Yekbrun — the Kurdish unity party.

Vanly says he took part in unsuccessful negotiations in 1979 with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to grant autonomy for Kurds in Iran, whom he says make up about 16 per cent of the population. The talks failed, he added, because the Kurds would not accept a constitution dominated by Khomeini's Shi'ite Muslims, and because people around Khomeini insisted on disavowing the Kurds.

Vanly claims to speak on behalf of 14 million to 18 million Kurds, but reference books give the population of "Kurdistan" at only three to five million.

Though repeatedly defeated in the past, he said, their cause has hope because of unstable conditions in the area. He predicted that the Iraqi government of President Saddam Hussein would be ousted within a year, partly because of recent setbacks in the war with Iran and partly because of domestic opposition.

Vanly proposed what he called an "intra-national" council of Kurds from all four countries, to deal with economic, social and cultural matters — leaving national defence and foreign affairs in the hands of each government.

Because of the size of the Kurdish population, he said, it should have a voice as well in the central governments of these countries.

Drinking heavily under the volcano

PICHICALCO, Mexico. — The 2,225-metre Chichon volcano that killed up to 100 people last week blew off a mushroom cloud of ash and steam Friday, but a geologist said the "most critical phase is over."

Some 5,000 people were still unaccounted for as rescue workers combed villages isolated for five days by debris from the erupting volcano, authorities said.

Chiapas state Gov. Juan Sabines Gutierrez, who travelled with rescue teams, said he found survivors drinking heavily out of despair.

"It saddened me," he told reporters. "I scolded them because all the men were drunk. But it's natural. They are very ignorant people. They thought the world was going to end and because of the danger they took to drinking pulque," a local home-brew made from cactus.

(UPI, AP)

Saudis immune from assault charges

MIAMI (AP). — The U.S. State Department has granted diplomatic immunity to a Saudi Arabian royal couple accused of assaulting several local police officers five weeks ago. Dade County officials said Friday.

The decision angered police and prosecutors here who said Prince Turki Bin Abdul Aziz and his wife, Princess Hend al-Fassi, hold no role in the Saudi Arabian government.

"I'm disgusted," said Connie Kubik, a recently resigned officer whose hand allegedly was smashed in a door February 26 when she and other officers executed a search warrant at the couple's apartment in the luxurious Cricket Club condominium.

The police were looking for servants reportedly being held as slaves by the Saudis. No such situation was found, police said after the raid in which five officers reported injuries.

Gene Malmborg, a State Department assistant legal adviser, said the immunity decision was made at "a fairly high level because of the importance of the issue."

Somali leader won't go to OAU parley in Libya

MOGADISHU (Reuters). — President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia said yesterday that he would not attend the forthcoming Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Tripoli because of what he called Libya's terrorism.

Barre, returning from a 26-day tour of the U.S., Canada, Western Europe and Egypt, told reporters that "Libya is the centre of international terrorism" and was not a fitting venue for the OAU summit, scheduled to take place in late July and early August.

The police were looking for servants reportedly being held as slaves by the Saudis. No such situation was found, police said after the raid in which five officers reported injuries.

Gene Malmborg, a State Department assistant legal adviser, said the immunity decision was made at "a fairly high level because of the importance of the issue."

Barre, returning from a 26-day tour of the U.S., Canada, Western Europe and Egypt, told reporters that "Libya is the centre of international terrorism" and was not a fitting venue for the OAU summit, scheduled to take place in late July and early August.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

Falklands eyewitness says troops met little resistance

ONDON (AP). — Argentine troops quickly overcame a small force of 80 British Royal Marines when they invaded the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic early on Friday, according to a British soldier in the islands' capital, Port Stanley.

William Langley of London's *Daily Mail* said in a telephone report that the Argentine military: "It all happened so quickly that everyone seemed stunned."

"They had gone to bed British and woken up Argentine... There was a lot of noise and shooting in the pre-dawn darkness on the outskirts of Port Stanley, but whatever resistance there was from the 80 Royal Marines here, it did not last long."

Langley quoted an Argentine lieutenant who listened in to his telephone call saying: "That's right. Everyone is okay. The British Marines are okay. No one has been hurt."

One Argentine officer was killed in the invasion.

There are some 1,800 pro-British

people in the Falklands, mostly farmers and fishermen. It was not clear from Langley's report whether the islands' volunteer "defence force" had been in action when the Argentine troops stormed ashore. The Falklands are over half the size of Israel, 4,700 square miles.

Langley's report, published in Friday's *Daily Mail*, said the Argentine lieutenant "held his gun firmly in the small of my back" during the telephone call to the *Mail* office in London.

Langley said Argentine armoured personnel carriers and troops patrolled Port Stanley's streets and that "all main buildings were occupied by heavily armed troops."

Argentine officers announced that the Falklands have been renamed the Malvinas, the Argentine name for the archipelago, and declared that a curfew would be imposed. The reporter gave no other details.

He noted: "The Argentine soldiers were well behaved, but looked very determined."

Salvador rightists demand gov't role

AN SALVADOR (AP). — Rightist parties on Friday accused the Christian Democrats of trying to unfairly keep a grip on power.

The centrist Christian Democrats, led by Jose Napoleon Duarte, finished last with 40 per cent of the popular vote in last Sunday's poll.

No coalitions to lead the constituent assembly have been announced and the bitterness between the rightists and the Christian Democrats is expected to increase as the days pass without a power-sharing agreement.

The five rightist groups, which have formed a caucus they say could lead to a coalition government of national unity, together took a total of 36 seats to 24 for the Christian Democrats.

A communique printed in the newspaper *El Diario* said the five rightist parties "reject the ridiculous pretensions and the threatening attitudes of the Christian Democratic party in taking (over) the direction of a government which the people

with their massive vote denied them."

The Christian Democrats, who insist that no workable government can be formed without them, called their supporters to a "great meeting of the '82 victory" Friday in the downtown Plaza Libertad.

Robert d'Aubuisson, leader of the far-right Republican National Alliance that finished second in the vote, reiterated at a news conference that rightists are willing to talk to the Christian Democrats to "share the destinies of our country."

"But we have not considered and will not accept Duarte as the head of the government," said d'Aubuisson.

QUACKS. — Quack doctors, operating on Indians with eye ailments, have caused at least 18 cases of blindness. Three bogus physicians who operated in street "eye camps" using razor blades, have been arrested in Rajakhera, 200 kilometres south of New Delhi.

Last telex to London: 'Lots of new friends'

LONDON (UPI). — The last telex message from the Falkland Islands to the Cable and Wireless Company's headquarters in London at 4.30 p.m. (1530 GMT) Friday gave news of the Argentine invasion before communications were cut.

An operator in Port Stanley came on line with the message: "We have lots of new friends."

London: What about invasion rumours?

Port Stanley: Those are the friends I was meaning.

London: They've landed?

Port Stanley: Absolutely.

London: Are you open for traffic?

Port Stanley: No orders on that yet. One must obey orders.

London: Whose orders?

Port Stanley: The new governor's.

London: Argentina?

Port Stanley: Yes.

London: Are the Argentines in control?

Port Stanley: Yes. You can't argue with thousands of troops plus enormous navy support when you're only 1,800 strong.

Man to plead guilty in Libyan plot

LOS ANGELES (AP). — A man accused of plotting to illegally sell military helicopters to Libya has agreed to plead guilty to a reduced charge in order to avoid being tried in Texas, officials said Thursday.

Thomas O'Connor of suburban Torrance will plead guilty to one count of attempted export of implements of war in violation of the Federal Neutrality Act under an agreement approved Wednesday in Los Angeles by U.S. Magistrate Venetta Tassopoulos.

The count carries a maximum sentence of two years in prison, opposed to the possible five-year term for the conspiracy charge.

O'Connor and six others faced under an indictment handed down in Dallas on March 4.

O'Connor surrendered here March 10.

The indictment alleges that O'Connor and his co-defendants conspired to deliver 15 Bell Cobra armoured helicopters to the Libyan government. The helicopters were allegedly to have been purchased in Amarillo, Texas, and then shipped to Libya under the guise of being spare parts.

On the other hand, he must know that he is a part of the one people, composed of millions and millions of Jews (may their numbers increase), a nation blessed "as the stars of heaven for multitude."

In a deeper sense, moreover, it is a one people that is composed of all generations of Jews, from the time of Mattan-Torah to the end of time.

It is clear, therefore, that everyone's task is an integral part of the whole community of Israel; and the good of the Klal outweighs personal considerations and personal interests.

It also follows that when a Jew acts for the benefit of the Klal, for the good of the one people that embraces all generations, he draws strength from the inexhaustible wellspring of the eternal people, and he is bound to succeed in this effort, and thereby also in all his personal affairs, both material and spiritual.

May G-d grant that everyone, man and woman, should indeed be thoroughly permeated with the thought and remembrance, of both extremes: That he (she) is a complete world, which he (she) must make a true living from the Creator of man; a task that has to be carried out in the fullest measure according to the capacities that have been given him. This task has to be carried out by each person himself, individually, without relying on someone else, or on Klal Yisrael, to carry out his task for him.

On the other hand, he must know that he is a part of the one people, composed of millions and millions of Jews (may their numbers increase), a nation blessed "as the stars of heaven for multitude."

And the good works of every Jew individually, and of all Jews collectively, are assembled and unified, and being thus "all of us like one" bring the fulfillment of "Bless us, our Father, with the light of Your Countenance," and the ultimate realization of "Yeshem Elokim Tzvo's, return us, enlighten Your Countenance and we shall be delivered" — with the true and complete Genui through Moshiach Tzidkai, very soon in our days.

With esteem and with blessing for Hatzlocho in all above, including the preparations for the Festival of Our Freedom, and with blessing for a Kosher and Joyous Pesach.

Signed: Menachem Shneerson

Agudath Hassidei Habad.

Letter by the Lubavitcher Rebbe

FREE TRANSLATION

By the Grace of G-d
Motzoi Shabbos Kodesh,
Vayakhel-Pikudel, 25 Adar
Mevorchim Chodesh Nissan,
Parshas Ekev, 5742
Brooklyn, N.Y.



To the Sons and Daughters of Our People Israel, Everywhere, G-d bless you all!

Greeting and Blessing:

Coming from the days of Purim, we turn our attention to the preparations for Pesach; especially when it is already after Shabbos Mevorchim Chodesh Nissan, Shabbos Parshas Ekev, and one begins to feel the presence and influence of the spirit of the Korban-Pesach and Yetziat-Mitzraim, about which we read in the special Torah portion this Shabbos.

Our Sages of blessed memory connect the Genui of Purim with the Genui of Pesach, although the two deliverances were quite different. Yet the two also have certain features in common. One of them is the emphatic imperative to remember and observe these days for all posterity. Thus, in regard to Pesach the Torah declares (in Parshas Ekev): "And this day shall be unto you for a remembrance... unto your generations." Similarly, in regard to Purim it is written: "And these days shall be remembered and done in every generation and generation."

It has often been emphasized that a remembrance in Torah, as in Jewish life in general, is not meant for the purpose of merely recalling an important event, and the like; but the real purpose of it is to learn from the event that happened in the past — to learn, especially, specific practical lessons for today and tomorrow.

In this respect, too, there are points of instruction that are common to Pesach and Purim, and one of these will be spotlighted here.

The Mitzva of Korban-Pesach required that every man individually take a lamb (or kid) for an offering, for himself and his household. In complying with this Mitzva, each person, each family, each *chavurah* (group) acted as separate entities, distinct from the whole Jewish people — each a world in itself. But at the same time they were all unified within "the whole congregation of Israel" which had received the same Divine commandment, to carry out the same Mitzva, at the same time, in the same manner, as emphasized again: "The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel," all unified in the performance of a Mitzva that is connected with Yetziat-Mitzraim — the Genui from the first Genui, when all Jews came out of the Genui together as one nation, and came out triumphantly.

The first Genui is also the harbinger of the ultimate and complete Genui, the Genui from the present and last Genui.

Similarly it is underscored in the Megillah, which tells the story of the Miracle and Genui of Purim, that even when Jews are in Golus, "scattered and dispersed among the nations," every Jew a world unto himself — they remain, nevertheless, "one people" and "their laws (of the Torah, their way of life) are different from those of all other nations."

And also in the observance of Purim there is a similarity to the Korban-Pesach, as noted above, requiring that every Jew, individually, hear the reading of the Megillah, send portions (mishloach manot) every man to his friend, and give gifts to the poor, etc. But the intent (goal) of these Mitzvos is to bring closer and unify all these individuals ("man," "and," "friend," the "poor") as well as their children — "young and old, infants and women" — so that everyone can see that they are one people, whose unity is emphasized also earlier in the Megillah, as the first step toward the Genui: "Go assemble together all the Jews."

It is in this way that we achieve (while still in Golus) the position that "For the Jews there is light, joy, gladness, and honor."

NEWS IN BRIEF

U.S. Navy airplane missing near Crete

CHANEA, Crete (UPI). — Greek helicopters and Coast Guard boats searching the area where a U.S. Navy plane disappeared on Friday have found no signs of a crash nor of survivors, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The plane, a C-1A transport with 11 people aboard assigned to the aircraft carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower, was flying over the Mediterranean to Souda Bay, a NATO air and naval base in the eastern Mediterranean.

34 Red Brigades suspects arrested

ROME (Reuters). — Italian police arrested 34 suspected Red Brigades terrorists in raids on the group's Rome section during the previous 48 hours, justice officials said yesterday.

The officials said police found hundreds of documents including detailed plans of proposed attacks on policemen, prison warders and high officers of the paramilitary police.

Marines search Guam for WWII straggler

AGANA, Guam (Reuters). — U.S. marines and police are searching for a possible Japanese straggler from World War Two hiding in the hills of southern Guam, police said yesterday.

They said a search team found what appeared to be signs that a straggler might be hiding in an area overgrown with tropical vegetation.

Honorary Japanese consul James Shintaku said two islanders reported sighting two men with long hair and long beards in the jungle last October.

Bomb defused outside U.S. envoy's home

ATHENS (UPI). — Police defused a bomb placed outside the residence of U.S. Ambassador Montague Stearns, a spokesman said yesterday.

It was the second time in three days that a bomb was found near the residence. A similar device blew up outside the wall Thursday morning causing minimal damage but no injuries.

A radical leftist organization calling itself the People's Revolutionary Struggle claimed responsibility for Thursday's explosion in calls to local newspapers.

House panel trims Reagan arms request

WASHINGTON (UPI). — A House of Representatives committee approved most of President Ronald Reagan's weapons programme on Friday, turning back attempts to eliminate money for new carriers and the B-1 bomber, but cutting funds for interim MX missile deployment.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate panel voted 16-1 on Thursday to approve a \$180.2 billion programme. Reagan had requested \$184.3 billion.

The House Armed Services Committee voted 39-3 to approve a \$180b. authorization. The Senate

"PLEASE EXCUSE me for my tardiness in answering your letter," the prisoner wrote. "I have just been released from solitary confinement due to my refusal to work during Passover. And just as our people of old received the manna from the heavens, just so did I receive the package of Passover food you so kindly sent me. Indeed to me, it was as though it came from the heavens."

This letter, received by Rabbi Tobias Geffen of Atlanta, my grandfather, in the spring of 1933, set off a series of events that ultimately led to the release of an innocent man from the Georgia Chain Gang.

A few weeks before Passover 1933, Rabbi Geffen received a letter from a prisoner in the Reidsville prison, the site of one of the then notorious chain gangs of Georgia. There was a request for matza and a Haggada, since, as the writer put it, that would be "the first Passover I am away from home." The letter was signed, but there were no additional details about the sender.

The rabbi quickly responded with a package of provisions for the prisoner, including not just a Haggada and matza but also other Passover foods. He also asked for more information from the man behind bars. The rabbi then put his son, an attorney, to work to see what else might be discovered about the prisoner.

THE PRISONER was from a large north-eastern United States city, a bookkeeper by profession. Because of the Depression, jobs were scarce and this young man, who had to

AMERICAN higher education is on the decline, and the reasons are many, says A. Bartlett Giamatti, president of Yale University. He discussed the reasons, ranging from economic decline to the trauma of the Sixties and their aftermath, during a recent visit to the Weizmann Institute.

"There was always a sense of mutual distrust between the universities and the private sector," he said. "In the Forties, the government displaced private enterprise as a source of university funding. Now, with government funding cut as a matter of policy, and with the economic conditions in the country so miserable, the universities have a problem."

Since the Sixties, he said, the American public has been disappointed with the higher education process. "In the Sixties, higher education simply gave up on trying to preserve its academic values."

"WE LIVE in a noisy society," said exposure to a lot of sound accelerates the natural process of hearing loss as we age. Unfortunately, most people are not aware of this until it is too late," says Prof. Richard Nodar, a specialist at the Cleveland Clinic in otology, the science that deals with the ear and its diseases.

After the age of 60, two out of five people suffer hearing loss. After 65, the number rises to three out of five. But few people recognize — or admit — the problem to themselves. "They will claim their hearing's fine, that they don't hear because other people mumble or don't speak clearly."

Their hearing, he notes, could be restored with a suitable hearing aid, but here again, there seems to be a natural resistance: "We are now at the stage with hearing aids that we

PASSOVER PARDON

By DAVID GEFFEN / Special to The Jerusalem Post

support his widowed aging mother and his brother, decided to try and find work in Florida.

Unable to afford a bus ticket, he made his way south by hitchhiking. In South Carolina, he was given a ride in a car filled with a group of men. Unfortunately, they were criminals fleeing from a bank robbery, and once this became known to him he became their prisoner.

After crossing into Georgia, they were caught by the state police, who had a warrant for their arrest. The innocent hitchhiker, however, was tried and convicted by a court in Savannah Georgia and sent off to the chain gang.

Since his arrest and imprisonment in October, 1932, the young man's family had been trying to get him released but to no avail.

Being the only Jew in the chain gang, he was harassed mercilessly by the guards. Only the kindness of one of the wardens actually made it possible for him to get the package sent by the rabbi. Technically, it was illegal.

A FEW WEEKS after receiving the "matza" letter, Rabbi Geffen and his son traveled to the Reidsville

prison to meet the prisoner and get more information about his case.

Impressed by the man's protestations of innocence, the rabbi wrote to a colleague in the prisoner's hometown asking for corroboration of the man's statements about his background.

It transpired that the man had told the truth and his rabbi spoke highly about him and his family.

Rabbi Geffen now began to work even more intensely. The prisoner's request for release came before the pardon board in the summer of 1933 and was rejected. Therefore, only the governor of Georgia, Eugene Talmadge, could free him.

When the case came to his attention, the governor, aware of the rabbi's interest, asked Rabbi Geffen to write him a letter explaining why the man should be released.

In the letter to Talmadge, Rabbi Geffen stressed several points. First, the young man, according to his hometown rabbi, had never been in trouble before.

Secondly, the rabbi suggested, a year's imprisonment was certainly sufficient punishment for an innocent man.



Rabbi Tobias Geffen

Thirdly, the young man's request for special Passover food supplies indicated the depth of his religious feeling and his character.

The governor's advisors objected — some of them quite vehemently

— to the prisoner's release. But Talmadge, using the rabbi's letter as a guide, ruled otherwise.

The prisoner was freed and allowed to return to his hometown in the northeast.

was also a professor; his mother came from an old New England family. Most of today's students, however, don't want to be noncommercial martyrs.

"Very few are going into graduate work in the humanities and social sciences, because they know there are virtually no jobs. They come in as undergraduates at 18, convinced they must be doctors or lawyers. We graduated a total of 35,000 lawyers around the country this year, and there must now be a lawyer for every 400 or 500 Americans. Still, the law and M.B.A. degrees are considered the generalist degrees with which you can move around and do a variety of things. People who 10 years ago might have gone into history or literature go to business or law school instead today."

Another trend he sees is the codification of university activities, with written, publicly-stated rules

replacing the old collegiality. "Now there are definitions of what constitutes affirmative action, or sexual harassment. The danger is that the faculty, which considers itself the keeper of the shared values, may find itself in conflict with the administration, which sees itself as the keeper of the law."

It used to be that everyone at the university saw the institution, and themselves within it, as keepers of both society's values and the norms which grow from those values.

Universities are also adopting a management style similar to that of the corporation, he said, which also can strike a blow at collegiality. "Admittedly, collegiality at its worst is simply clubbiness, but at its best it's the underpinning of academic life, which we have to preserve. It's the shared values which cross disciplinary lines in such areas as freedom of speech and the search for truth."

without fearing blindness?" they ask.

Hearing is "more precious than sight," the professors say, and should not be abused. People fail to appreciate varying sensitivities to noise. For instance, children doing homework with the radio blaring may not be doing their hearing any harm, depending on how far from the radio they sit and how big the room is.

As for why kids choose to work under conditions many adults see as less than beneficial, the professors suggest that "a certain amount" of noise probably stimulates them, and a completely quiet room will upset some people. But, the specialists say, replacing the radio with earphones blaring straight into their ears, will probably get one into trouble.

There is no need to panic. "There are very few hearing defects that cannot be improved with hearing aids, provided you are aware of the problem and seek professional ad-

vice. It is critical to watch your children between the ages of seven to 10, when hearing defects are very common and can affect their education," they noted.

WHEN THE NOISE level you are exposed to reaches 90 decibels and up, "it's dangerous and you should protect your ears." How do you tell that you need help? "If you have to raise your voice to be heard, if your ears ring or you notice a change in your hearing after the loud noise stops, you should go to see an ear, nose and throat specialist," they say.

It is also important to know, they add, that hearing aids help you to hear better; they do not replace your own hearing. As a simple test of the value of hearing, the specialists suggest turning off the sound when the family is watching TV. During their stay, their hosts are Prof. Isaac Eliachar at Rambam Medical Centre and Ludwig Podoshin at Rothschild Hospital.

View from Yale

By LEA LEVAVI / Jerusalem Post Reporter

There was some sense, he said, in the idea behind student rebellion, that the university can not behave as if there were no necessary connection between the intellectual activity at the university and what's happening outside. But the connection could prove detrimental to both, as in the recent scandals in athletics.

"There's a know-nothing streak in American culture, anyway," Giamatti said. "Take the Moral

Majority as an example. They consider the spirit more important than the mind, and have no respect for theory. The people who go into academe are those who consider themselves marginal."

Giamatti, who had been a professor of Renaissance literature before assuming his current post, said academicians enjoy the martyrdom of being noncommercial. (His father, the son of immigrant parents,

The age of noise

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER / Jerusalem Post Reporter

were at with spectacles 40 years ago." Many people are simply depriving themselves of proper hearing.

Nodar and Prof. Ronald Hinchcliffe recently visited the Technion's medical faculty at the Rambam Medical Centre for the annual Belle and Sidney Quinman Lecture, which they are devoting to the sub-

ject of hearing and hearing disorders.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, they said their task was to evaluate and rehabilitate hearing loss, but above all to try to prevent it.

People tend to be careless of their hearing, unthinkingly exposing themselves to dangerously high noise levels "as long as its only for a short time," because they believe it will do them no harm. "Would you look into the sun for a short time

Courtesy pays

By LOUIS I. RABINOWITZ
Special to The Jerusalem Post

and informing me that the necessary action would be taken. In view of my experience during my term of office as deputy mayor of Jerusalem when I had received similar communications and that was the last I heard of them, I assumed that this would be so in this case, too. But I was wrong.

To my surprise, I recently received a letter dated March 14, signed by the director of the public relations department of Egged in Jerusalem, of which the following is a translation:

"The driver in question was summoned to appear before the disciplinary committee, which took a

MY ALMOST one-man battle to bring about obedience to the regulation which forbids smoking in urban routes of Egged — the subject of an article by me ("Light Unto the Nations," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 14, 1981) continues with increasingly gratifying results.

On boarding a bus on Thursday, February 11, I was considerably upset to see the driver smoking *coram publico*. Instead of remonstrating with him angrily, I commented politely: "Does the driver also smoke on the bus?" To which he replied: "There is one law applicable to all citizens."

"I agree fully," I rejoined, "and that law is stated on the notice in front of your very eyes — 'Smoking forbidden.'"

Unabashed he answered: "When I ask passengers to refrain from smoking, they ignore my request. Why then should I adhere to it?" Without further comment, I noted down the number of the route, the time of day, the number of the bus, and addressed a letter to Egged, reporting the incident and concluding with the sentence: "I wish this letter to be treated as an official complaint and hope that you will be good enough to inform me what steps have been taken against the offending driver."

In due course, I received an official formal notification acknowledging receipt of my letter

SPRING IS HERE!!

Season of travel, excursions and vacations is drawing near, so be prepared! Buy a camera at the professional, long established shop, "Photo Brenner."

- Something for every pocket: cameras, binoculars, projectors and accessories.
- Camera repairs with half year warranty!
- One minute passport photos!
- One minute document copies!

Closed all day on Tuesday.

Happy Pesach!

Photo Brenner
31 Rehovot, Haifa

Double benefit

Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE ISRAEL Philharmonic's April 22 concert marking the 100th anniversary of Igor Stravinsky's birth will help Tel Aviv University students help both the disadvantaged and themselves.

The Association of Friends of Tel Aviv University in Israel have bought up all the seats in the Mann Auditorium for the performance and will sell tickets for them for IS250 to IS1,000.

All the money raised will go to the university's Academic Project for Social Involvement. Over 500 students from various departments in the university (pre-law, medicine, foreign students, pre-academic year and others) offer a variety of volunteer service to disadvantaged and ill citizens in the community. This ranges from tutoring children in poor neighborhoods to work with the elderly, a drama project with the retarded and a variety of other activities.

"Community involvement is difficult for a university," Prof. Ron Shoval, academic director of the project, says. "A university thinks in terms of excellence. In this project, we're presenting the university with two questions: who will be the excellent, and what will excellence mean?"

"By helping disadvantaged children, we hope to increase the

percentage of Sephardi students in the university. When we ask what excellence means, we're referring to the fact that a future lawyer or doctor or artist will practice his/her profession differently — better — as a result of exposure to 'the other Israel'."

THE STUDENTS work as volunteers in return for credits, instead of the scholarships offered by similar community involvement programmes at Israel's other universities. Another unique feature of this programme is that it is an academic programme in addition to being a project in community service. This means that students not only receive supervision on how to work with their "clients," but also guided reading of material on the types of problems they encounter in their work.

Dr. Kitty Cohen, executive director of the Friends Association, said the association, like the university itself, is trying to reach out to the community. "We've recently established subsidiaries such as Friends of the Law Faculty, Friends of the Cinema and TV Department, and so forth, which allow people with specific interests to attend functions of special interest to them, and to contribute to the area of university activity in which they are specifically interested."

A Brand New Ideal

Sivan
Liquid Soap



Sivan
Much More Than
Just a Soap

Taya

THE CENTENARY OF STRAVINSKY'S BIRTH

4 Festive Concerts
Leonard Bernstein, conductor
Isaac Stern, violinist
Tel-Aviv, The Fredric R. Mann Auditorium
8.30 p.m., April 1982

Presented by The Israeli Friends of Stravinsky
for the benefit of Tel-Aviv University

Thursday, 22 April 1982
Programme of Works by Stravinsky
Symphony in Three Movements
Concerto in D major for violin and orchestra
"Petroushka" Suite
Scherzo à la Russe

Friday, 23 April 1982
Sala de "Stravinsky"

Stravinsky: "Scènes de Ballet"
Bernstein: Serenade for violin and orchestra
Stravinsky: "Le Sacre du printemps"

Tickets available at the P.O. Box Office,
Mann Auditorium, Tel-Aviv, 101, 102, 103, 104
and at "Cassid" Agency, 153 Ben-Gurion
Discount to P.O. subscribers per voucher 10% for 24 April
and 15% for 25 and 26 April.



THE ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA

Conducted by Leonard Bernstein

At your service in Frankfurt

EXCELSIOR MONOPOL
HOTEL

At the southern railway station.
530 beds

Proprietor: Esther Schwartz
General Manager:
Yisrael Yacov Schwartz

Monnheimerstr. 7-13
Tel. 0611/230171
Telex: 04-13061 HOTEXD

Sports

Kfar Sava march on

By PAUL KOHN
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hapoel Kfar Sava increased their lead at the top of the National League to two points, thanks to a 2-1 home win in a glittering victory over Jaffa Maccabi, as challengers Maccabi Netanya could only glean a draw 0-0 against Hapoel Tel Aviv in front of 10,000 disappointed fans at the Bloomfield Stadium.

Looking the better team throughout, Hapoel Kfar Sava took the lead through a Shlomo Weizman header in the 49th minute. Against the run of play Maccabi Jaffa's Yigal Keren equalized in the 78th minute, by exploiting a mistake by Israel Hajji.

But the Sharon fans' trepidation lasted only one minute — Eitan Ravivo, who came on from the reserves bench just five minutes before, regained the lead for the home team with a blistering shot from close range.

The fans who stayed away from what had been mistakenly boasted as "the game of the season" between Hapoel Tel Aviv and Maccabi Netanya, at Bloomfield knew what they were doing. The best player was Netanya's goalkeeper, Arie Alter who often kept out the Hapoel forwards, singlehanded, especially in the first half. The real "game of the season" will take place in two weeks time in Netanya, where Maccabi will entertain league leaders Hapoel Kfar Sava.

Bnei Yehuda fans still retain hopes of the championship title thanks to an Ehud Ben Tovim goal in the 13th minute against Hapoel Petah Tikva. The 1-0 defeat made Hapoel's relegation to Second Division football next season inevitable.

The best game of the day was played before 10,000 at the Kiryat Eliezer ground, in Haifa, where Maccabi 3-1 beat Betar Jerusalem 3-1. Present at the sidelines was coach Jack Mannell, who will take over Maccabi Haifa from now on, after his stint as national team coach.

Though playing without Baruch Maman, their dynamic midfield player, Maccabi took the lead in the 4th minute with a Moshe Selektor header. Betar levelled the scores with a Yossi Avrahamy goal in the 17th minute. The 1-1 scoreline remained intact until the 51st minute, when Reuven Held put Haifa ahead. Then Meir Ben Shitrit clinched the result with an 81st minute goal, to give the home team a fully deserved victory. Both sides played the kind of open and imaginative football fans dream about.

Hapoel Jerusalem beat Hapoel Beersheba 1-0 at YMCA Jerusalem. David Boker, who returned to the Jerusalem team after an injury which kept him out of the game for 10 weeks, scored the winner in the 68th minute. These two valuable points have lifted Amatzia Lefkowitz's side to 10th place, though they are only two points clear of the relegation red line.

Maccabi Tel Aviv finally won their first point in five games when they came back twice to hold Betar Tel Aviv to a 2-2 draw, at the Winter Stadium in Ramat Gan. In the 8th minute, Betar took the lead through Shalom Schwartz, after some nice scheming by Mordechai Spiegler. Moshe Schweitzer equalized for Maccabi a minute

before half-time, from Benny Tabak pass.

It took only ten seconds from the referee's whistle starting the second half for Betar to go ahead again. This was due to an own goal by Maccabi's Ronnie Tzemach, after a shot by Betar's Avi Golder.

Maccabi saved their point three minutes before the end, when Uri Saleiman scored from the penalty spot, after Shraga Topolansky tripped Schweitzer.

A last minute goal by Gideon Damti gave Shimonson a 1-0 away win over Maccabi Petah Tikva. Only fine goalkeeping by Ofer Fabian for the Petah Tikva team kept the Shimonson forwards out until the final minute. Even with the added two points, Shimonson remain in a hot relegation seat in 14th position.

Hapoel Lod went four points clear at the top of the second Division with a 1-0 home win over Hapoel Haifa. Three teams, Hapoel Ramat Gan, Maccabi Yavne and Hakohat are in a hectic struggle to fill the two other promotion slots. The three are level on 33 points.

The four state quarter-finals games will be played next Saturday.

NATIONAL LEAGUE:

Hapoel T.A. 0, Netanya 0	Kfar Sava 2, Maccabi Jaffa 1
Betar T.A. 2, Mac. T.A. 2	Mac. Haifa 3, Betar Peta 1
Mac. T.T. 0, Shimonson 1	Ramat Gan 1, Yavne 1
Shimonson 0, Yavne 0	Hapoel Peta 0, Beersheba 0
Shimonson 1, Hapoel T.A. 0	Shimonson 1, Hapoel T.A. 0

SECOND DIVISION:

Tel Hama 0, Yavne 1	Betar Netanya 0, Ramat 0
Kfar Sava 1, Betar Shimonson 0	Shimonson 0, Ramat 0
Shimonson 0, Ramat 0	Shimonson 0, Ramat 0
Shimonson 0, Ramat 0	Shimonson 0, Ramat 0
Shimonson 0, Ramat 0	Shimonson 0, Ramat 0

STANDINGS

NATIONAL LEAGUE

	W	D	L	G	P
1. Kfar Sava	14	7	4	39	35
2. Netanya	15	6	6	42	33
3. Bnei Yehuda	11	9	3	27	31
4. Hapoel T.A.	9	10	6	29	28
5. Beersheba	11	9	7	36	27
6. Mac. T.T.	8	10	7	31	26
7. Betar Peta	8	9	8	33	25
8. Mac. Haifa	8	9	8	33	25
9. Yavne	5	15	5	15	20
10. Hapoel Peta	7	10	8	26	24
11. Mac. T.A.	8	9	8	26	24
12. Mac. Jaffa	7	9	7	27	23
13. Shimonson	7	8	10	24	22
14. Shimonson	6	10	9	23	21
15. Betar T.A.	4	12	9	19	20
16. Hapoel T.T.	2	8	17	9	10

SECOND DIVISION

	W	D	L	G	P
1. Lod	16	5	4	37	37
2. Hapoel R.G.	13	7	5	38	33
3. Yavne	11	11	3	26	33
4. Hapoel	13	7	5	34	33
5. Hapoel	10	8	7	31	28
6. Ramat	10	8	7	31	28
7. Kiryat Shmona	9	6	10	29	24
8. Betar Ramat	8	9	9	26	23
9. Betar Shean	8	7	10	30	23
10. Nazareth	6	11	8	31	23
11. Betar Netanya	4	15	6	21	23
12. Hapoel Haifa	6	10	9	27	22
13. Acre	7	8	10	21	22
14. Tel Hama	5	11	9	25	21
15. Kiryat Gat	7	6	12	23	20
16. Tiberies	3	4	18	13	10

Softball

In a triple-header in Jerusalem, Jael "Dalia" Ben-Zion, powered Jerusalem Beersheba to a resounding 23-5 victory over the upstart Arava team. Beersheba hit two home runs, one with the bases loaded.

But the shadows disappeared from a blue sky for the Beersheba team in their second game, in which they overcame a 16-3 deficit in an extraordinary recovery to clinch Kibbutz Yotvata 17-16 in an extraordinary thriller that went to an extra inning, in which pitcher Mel Levy singled in the winning run.

In the night-cap, Beersheba's Beate Club defeated Jotvata 14-7.



Israeli All Stars at the Wednesday charity game to help injured Hapoel young player, Rami Simon.

Consolation for dream that ended in tragedy

By DAVID RUDGE
Special to The Jerusalem Post

Rami Simon was just 17 — an up-and-coming footballer with a golden future at his feet. The young striker was the star of Hapoel Jerusalem's youth team. All through school, he lived, worked, and played football. Soccer was more than an ambition, it was almost a way of life.

Then came the great news. He was chosen to play his first full game with the senior side. To the teenager it seemed as though all his dreams were about to come true.

Now it seemed his hopes were about to be realized. His potential had been recognized, and football pundits were even talking about him as a future national Israeli player.

It seemed that nothing could mar the magic of those tense, but exhilarating, moments before the teams raced on to the pitch to the enthusiastic cries of their supporters. To Rami, it was the crowning moment of his football career to date.

But, five minutes after the kick-off, tragedy struck. Rami was involved in a heavy tackle. His left leg buckled and snapped. A stretcher team raced onto the pitch and the young striker was taken to hospital.

Two weeks, and several operations later, doctors broke the news to him.

Rami's football career was over, finished, even as he had stood on the threshold. He would never play again. His hopes and dreams lay shattered along with his leg. The teenage hopeful had to face up to the bleak prospect that he was crippled for life.

The tragedy happened nearly four years ago. Since then, Rami, now aged 21, has been living with his mother in Maoz Zion, near Jerusalem. He has been unable to get a permanent job and the meagre compensation he received was soon consumed.

Then, two months ago, Givatayim businessman and keen football fan, Avi Mizrahi, heard about Rami's plight. He decided to try to help the ex-footballer, and he set about arranging a charity match to raise cash.

His first call was to Israeli football's elder statesman, Mordechai Spiegler. They got in touch with football clubs, players, institutions, the police and many others. The response was spontaneous. A galaxy of soccer stars volunteered to play in the match, and donations poured in from clubs and other sources throughout the country.

The managers of two Jerusalem national league clubs, Hapoel and Betar, agreed to their players taking part in a match. With the help of

Hapoel's manager, Shimonson Nir, other players were contacted. Everyone approached volunteered at once to play.

An invitation All Stars XI was formed to take on a combined team from the best men in the two Jerusalem sides. Among the big names in the All Stars team was top Israeli player, Avi Cohen, formerly of England side Liverpool, and now back playing with his old club, Maccabi Tel Aviv.

I spoke with him just before the kick-off of the charity match, which took place before a 2,500 crowd at Jerusalem's YMCA stadium on March 31.

"I was very happy to be asked to play in this game and I said 'yes' straight away," he said.

He went on: "Football is not just a game. For the player it is almost a way of life. To have it suddenly snatched away from you is like taking away part of your life. I know how Rami must have felt. That is why this game is so important to me." His sentiments were echoed by another top player, Yossi Avrahami, of Betar Jerusalem.

"I knew Rami when he was playing, and I thought he had a good future in front of him as a footballer. What happened was a great tragedy to him. It could so easily happen to anybody in the game. When it does, we have all got to try to help each other."

Mordechai Spiegler summed up the feelings of most of the players who took part in Wednesday's match. "I don't believe I have played in a more important game than this one. It is very sad that such a game should be necessary. The response says a lot for the sort of players we have got here in Israel."

For the record, the combined Jerusalem side beat the All Stars XI 5-4.

The real winner was the crippled ex-footballer, Rami Simon, who stands to gain about \$250,000, when the proceeds from the match and all the other donations have been counted.

He hopes the money will enable him to open a kiosk to provide him with a livelihood.

After the match, and after presenting the winning team with a special trophy, Rami was choked with emotion.

"My fervent hope now is that there will never again be another case like mine," he said.

"I hope that in future Israeli football teams will insure all their players, so that they get adequate compensation for injuries suffered on the field," he added.

That is a view that is shared by every player in the game.

Yizre'el beat sharav

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Kibbutz Yizre'el yesterday evening retained their title in the eighth Dudi Silbowitz Seven-A-Side Memorial Rugby Tournament, edging ASA Tel Aviv 21-18 in a hard-fought final of high quality.

Nearly 120 players in 32 teams braved the searing heat to participate in the day-long meet in Yizre'el, with non-league Arad, Ein Gev, Haifa Technion and "Young Yizre'el" competing alongside the six National League teams.

The meet is held annually by the Israel Rugby Football Union to commemorate Silbowitz, a leading member of both the Yizre'el and national teams, who fell in the Yom Kippur War.

The big surprise of the tournament was the 12-9 semi-final victory of ASA Tel Aviv over Kibbutz HaGonen, five times winner of the Silbowitz Trophy before losing to Yizre'el in last year's final. Yizre'el reached the last round with a 17-4 success against the host settlement's "B" side.

ASA Tel Aviv put up a great fight in the final, getting the better of the second half after turning round with a 6-18 deficit, but, in the end, they had to be satisfied with second place for the third time in the history of the event. The Tel Avivian's centre Barry Kanpol was in brilliant form, scoring two tries and putting over three conversions for a personal tally of 14 points, to add to his eight points in the semis.

Yizre'el completed a great day when their under-18 team registered three victories to take third place in their qualifying group. Equally meritorious was the performance of Kiryat Shmona, who threw off the disappointment of finishing as wooden spoonists in the league competition to finish third in the opposite half of the draw, also with three wins.

IRFU President Cyril Morris presented the Silbowitz Trophy to Tim Barker, captain of the winning seven, to end a great day's rugby.

Grand National

AINTREE, England (AP). — Dick Saunders, a 48-year-old farmer and amateur rider, rode Gritter to victory in a rough-and-tumble Grand National on Saturday and became the oldest man of all time to win the famous steeplechase, in what was perhaps the last occasion the race will be run.

A second rider making history in the 145-year-old race was pretty Geraldine Rees, 26 — the first woman rider to finish the gruelling 4 1/2 miles course with its 30 obstacles.

Gritter ran at 7 to 1. Outsider Hard Outlook at 50 to 1 was second and Loving Words at 16 to 1 was third.

COMMENT

Tragi-comedy of the absurd

If it were not so tragic, the exclusion of the Israeli juniors from the 11th Asian Tennis Championships in Taipei would seem to be a venture into the comedy of the absurd. Few playwrights of black comedy could have conceived of anything so zany as Taiwan refusing visas to Israelis to engage in sport. Sportsmen from the Chinese island and Israel are fellow-victims of political discrimination: they have suffered more than anyone, except South Africans, from bans imposed for political reasons.

Why, at the very moment that Taiwan rejected the Israelis, presumably to please the Arab masters of the oilfields, International Olympic Committee President Juan Antonio Samaranch was denouncing Taiwan in Peking, because of certain things they wanted to do in relation to a Women's World Softball Competition that is planned for July in Taiwan. The Taiwanese want to call themselves Taiwanese and to fly their national flag.

It is hard to imagine anything as remote from the Olympic movement as women's softball, but Samaranch, a former Spanish ambassador in Moscow, who recognises a big battalion as quickly as any legate, was very firm in Peking in espousing the views of mainland China. After his denunciation of Taiwan, he added that he hoped to see a very big Chinese team at the next Olympic Games. Ever since he took office, Samaranch has been waging a skillful and so far successful struggle to limit politics in sport, so as to prevent a repetition of the Moscow nightmare fiasco of 1980, but there are obviously limits even to his objections to letting politicians interfere with sport.

It may well be that the Taiwanese ban on the Israelis was motivated by a desire to prove that they are not comrades in misfortune with us, and want to get as far away from us in spirit as they are in geography.

The reaction of the Israel Tennis Association to the ban has been remarkably mild. When the Danish Government staged their own comedy of the absurd by barring tennis players, who were for practical purposes no longer South Africans and who were known to oppose apartheid, the Men's Professional Tennis Players' Association reacted promptly — they refused to allow a Grand Prix tournament, planned for Copenhagen, to take place.

The Israel Tennis Association is demanding that the International Tennis Federation should in future only sanction tournaments on condition that the host countries admit all eligible entries, irrespective of politics or other factors not pertaining to sport. But this demand does not say anything about refusing to recognize the tournament that took place in Taiwan without the Israelis. Logically, that tournament should be declared null and void by the International Federation, and should be regarded only as a private club tournament of no international value.

Perhaps the Israelis thought that this would cause a disproportionate amount of harm to those who did participate, and who, after all, were not to blame for the craven weakness of the Taiwanese Government.

It may also be contended that the world will not stop turning around on its axis because some Israeli juniors merely saw the sights of Tokyo instead of playing tennis in Taipei. The evil is not only in what happened to the juniors, it is that yet another precedent for political action against Israeli sportsmen has been approved by the world.

Pascal Portes beats Shlomo

Post Sports Staff

Fascal Portes of France beat Shlomo Glickstein in a surprise 6-2, 4-6, 7-5 victory in the quarter-finals of the \$300,000 WCT tournament in Zurich.

Glickstein, who was seeded sixth, went down to the Frenchman after a closely fought battle. Portes is expected to represent France along with his compatriots Yannick Noah and Gil Moreton in a friendly international between Israel and Ramat Hasharon.

Portes' fortunes turned sour in the semi-finals however; after losing the first set 6-1, he had to default to Texan Bill Scanlon because he had hurt his foot. In his quarter-final, Scanlon ousted Argentinian Guillermo Villas 6-4, 6-4. Scanlon now

meets either Vitas Gerulaitis or John Fitzgerald in the finals, and Shlomo Glickstein in his home town of Dallas.

Glickstein now moves on to Monte Carlo for the Volvo Grand Prix tournament there. This will also be the event in which Bjorn Borg makes his comeback, on his home turf, no less.

Borg has had to play in the qualifying rounds because he refused to play enough tournaments this year to abide by the rules. In his two qualifying matches played so far, he beat Italian Paolo Bertolucci 7-5, 6-0, beginning somewhat shakily. In his second match, he cruised to victory by beating the young Yugoslav Marko Ustojic 6-0, 6-0 in only 54 minutes.

UNITED MIZRAHI BANK

COMPARE YOUR MONEY EARNINGS MORE

INTEREST RATES ON DEPOSITS FOR 2.4%
UP TO \$10,000

	DEPOSIT PERIOD, MONTHS	PATACH Non resident deposits	PATAM Israeli resident deposits
		3 6 12	3 6 12
U.S.A.		12% 12% 12%	11% 11% 11%
GREAT BRITAIN		8% 8% 8%	6% 7 7
GERMANY		8% 8% 8%	5% 6% 6%
HOLLAND		15% 15% 15%	14 14% 14%
CANADA		15% 15% 15%	14% 17 15
FRANCE		2% 4% 5%	3% 3% 4
SWITZERLAND		12% 12% 12%	10% 11 11
"DOLLAR PAZ" "EURO PAZ" SDR		11% 11% 11%	10 10% 10%

DOLLAR PAZ AND EURO PAZ PRICES FOR 2.4%
CURRENCY BASKET

	PURCHASE	SALE
"DOLLAR PAZ", 1 UNIT	62.4447	63.0722
"EURO PAZ", 1 UNIT	79.5267	80.3258
SDR	21.4295	21.6448

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES				FOR 2.4.84		
COUNTRY	CURRENCY		CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS		BANKNOTES	
			PURCHASE	SALE	PURCHASE	SALE
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	1	19.2055	19.3985	19.0100	19.5900
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	1	34.3682	34.7136	34.0200	35.0600
GERMANY	MARK	1	8.0113	8.0918	7.9300	8.1700
FRANCE	FRANC	1	3.0748	3.1057	2.9400	3.1400
HOLLAND	GULDEN	1	7.2160	7.2885	7.1400	7.3600
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1	9.9304	10.0302	9.8300	10.1300
SWEDEN	KRONA	1	3.2474	3.2800	3.1700	3.3100
NORWAY	KRONE	1	3.1600	3.1918	3.0900	3.2200
DENMARK	KRONE	1	2.3418	2.3653	2.2900	2.3900
FINLAND	MARK	1	4.1714	4.2134	4.0800	4.2500
CANADA	DOLLAR	1	15.6832	15.8408	15.4000	16.0000
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	1	20.1945	20.3975	19.7200	20.7800
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	1	18.2701	18.4537	14.3400	19.4300
BELGIUM	FRANC	10	4.2452	4.2879		
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING	100	11.4013	11.5158	11.2900	11.6300
ITALY	LIRE	1000	14.5606	14.7069	13.7600	14.8500
JAPAN	YEN	1000	78.1028	78.8877	77.3100	79.6700

FURTHER DETAILS AT OUR INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT
36 LILIEBLUM ST. TEL AVIV
TEL 629414 AND AT ALL OUR BRANCHES

UNITED MIZRAHI BANK

The Bank that speaks your language

Spurs and QPR book places

LONDON (Reuter). — First Division Tottenham Hotspur and Queens Park Rangers of the Second Division set up an all-London final in the English FA Cup with victories in the semi-finals yesterday.

Spurs kept up their bid for three major titles. Garth Crooks converted a 58th minute pass from Argentinian Osvaldo Ardiles to put them on course for a 2-0 triumph over Second Division Leicester. An own goal by Ian Wilson ensured victory.

Queens Park Rangers outplayed First Division West Bromwich Albion for most of their match, and were rewarded with a 69th minute goal by Clive Allen. This gave them their 1-0 victory. The final is to take place at Wembley on May 22.

In the First Division, Liverpool remained top on goal difference after their 1-0 win at home over

Notts County on Friday night, due to a Kenny Dalglish 60th-minute piledriver. Ipswich are level on points, following a 1-0 home win over Coventry yesterday.

Southampton remained in contention with a 1-1 draw with Brighton, which leaves them one point behind the top two, but they have played three games more than Ipswich.

Swansea, who did not play yesterday, are fourth with 56 points.

Manchester United and Arsenal both lost ground with away draws, United 0-0 at Leeds and Arsenal 1-1 at Wolverhampton. They each have 55 points.

Brighton 1, Southampton 1
Ipswich 1, Coventry 0
Leeds 0, Manchester U. 0
Liverpool 1, Notts County 0
Manchester C. 0, West Ham 1
Notts Forest 0, Everton 1
Sunderland 0, Middlesbrough 2
Wolves 1, Arsenal 1

Under the kind patronage of the Rumanian Ambassador in Israel, Constantin Vasilin

The wonderful folklore troupe — in a programme of music, song and dance

DOINA BUCURESTIULUI

The group that captured the hearts of those who saw them in the U.S.A., England, France, Germany, Italy

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O. Box 81 (91000) Telephone 528181. Telex 26121. TEL AVIV 11 Rehov Carlebach, P.O. Box 20126 (61201) Telephone 294222. HAIFA 34 Rehov Herzl, Hadar Carmel, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Jerusalem Post. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. Copyright of all material reserved, reproduction permitted only by arrangement.

Nissan 11, 5742 • Jomai-Thani 10, 1402

Murder in Paris

THE SHOCKING murder of Israeli diplomat Ya'acov Bar-Simantov in broad daylight in Paris comes as a reminder of the ongoing war that has been pressed against Israel by the forces of Palestinian terrorism, at times acting through the agency of international terrorist organizations affiliated with it.

Other Israeli diplomats have been murdered in Turkey and in the U.S. and many others have been subject to unsuccessful terrorist attacks. This latest outrage would seem to be connected with the machine-gunning, last Wednesday, of the Israeli military mission in Paris, and possibly also to the terrorist bombing of a French express train.

The fact that PLO sources have denied responsibility for yesterday's murder does not necessarily mean that it or some of its constituent, and at times dissident, bodies were not connected to the dastardly attack. The denial, however, is an interesting departure, for normally, PLO sources have been wont to take great pride in such strikes.

The PLO's alacrity in issuing the denial would seem to be a further indicator of its interest in denying Israel any pretext for launching an all out attack against PLO bases and forces in southern Lebanon.

Israel has quite correctly made known its stand that proven PLO inspired attacks on Israeli targets from anywhere, and not necessarily only across the Lebanese border with Israel, would be considered a breach of the cease-fire concluded with the PLO last July.

The point has been made forcefully, and needs no constant reiteration. In fact, such reiteration could possibly even result in a boomerang effect, putting the credibility of Israel's determined stand in question.

Last night's transparent hint on Israel television news that Prime Minister Begin could be expected to view the Paris attack as such a breach of the cease-fire was an unnecessary piece of sabre-rattling.

What is needed is a deliberate consideration of the facts in the case and a responsible weighing of the alternative courses of action, or of a staying of action, that are available to Israel.

Israel is fully justified in pursuing its war against a PLO that has been waging a particularly murderous form of personal warfare against Israeli civilians for a decade and a half. There is also much to be argued in favour of the wisdom of continuing to exploit the current cease-fire with the PLO to Israel's advantage. Neither, however, should be made hostage to perceptions of momentary advantage said to be inherent in the linking of Israeli actions to the timing of her final withdrawal from the rest of Sinai three weeks hence.

Budget politics

ONE MAY doubt whether MK Mordechai Ben-Porat (Telem) fully realized what he was doing when he saved the government from parliamentary defeat over the interim budget law last week. For, instead of attaching strings to the interim budget, as he might have done, Mr. Ben-Porat gave Finance Minister Yoram Aridor a free hand at a time when early elections are a distinct possibility.

The approval of an expenditure of IS134.3b. for the first quarter of the fiscal year leaves Mr. Aridor free to spend to his heart's content, in real terms, during this crucial period. A shekel of the first quarter of the fiscal year is obviously worth twice as much as one of the last quarter. The law also authorizes the Treasury to spend, at its discretion, as much as 30 per cent of the subsidies budgeted for the entire year within the first three months.

Only 20 per cent of the budgeted annual amount will require approval by the Knesset Finance Committee. This last provision is, however, no real impediment to spending as much as the finance minister will see fit to spend — if Prime Minister Menachem Begin decides to call for early elections.

Mr. Aridor has already amply demonstrated that he has complete mastery over the technique of extracting allocations from the Knesset Finance Committee. All he needs to do is to hold up the payment of a few hundred million shekels of subsidies to Tnuva, Kupat Holim, or other opposition-affiliated economic entities.

Should politics dictate a new spending spree, and a reversal from the course that Mr. Aridor began to steer since the end of 1981, the interim budget would give him the authority to do so. Not that the absence of such authority has in the past much bothered the finance minister. It is, however, no doubt nice to be able to act within the law.

If, on the other hand, the prime minister succeeds in broadening his parliamentary support, thus making an early election unnecessary, the finance minister will be able to go on doing what he began to do in recent months — cut subsidies, raise the prices of government services — and make the public pay back the electoral bribes that helped put 48 Likud members in the Knesset. He will in fact be in a position to present the results as a major accomplishment of a responsible fiscal policy.

One can hardly blame the finance minister for using every ploy to leave him all options open. Indeed, Mr. Aridor deserves admiration for his astuteness in maneuvering within the narrow limits allowed by the coalition's hair-breadth majority.

The role played by the opposition in all this is rather less admirable. In its apparent fear of bringing about the government's fall, which it claims to desire, the Labour Alignment did nothing to deny the government the means of running another election campaign like the last one.

The will to return to power, as well as a sense of national responsibility, should have dictated tactics designed not to make a show of defeating the government over the budget, but to tie its hands.

Surely, Mr. Ben-Porat's importance as the one Knesset member who held the government's fate in his hands would have been further enhanced had he been persuaded to attach conditions to his crucial abstention in the vote.

UNITED Synagogues of America — the movement for Conservative Judaism in the U.S. — boldly declared its intention to become "Zionist" at their New York convention last November. According to director Rabbi Pesach Schindler, as quoted in *The Jerusalem Post*, the move "will give us the moral right to put aliya high on our priority list."

A final decision was left in the hands of the board of directors. At issue is whether United Synagogues should adopt the Jerusalem Platform and become itself a Zionist organization, or whether its members should be automatically enrolled (by collecting dues as part of synagogue membership) in Maccabim, the heretofore independent organization of Conservative Zionists.

Either way, United Synagogues' million plus members aspire to be represented in the World Zionist Organization, which considerably changes the balance of power in the WZO. The move also replies to the perplexing question of just who is a Zionist in America. The Conservative answer: anyone who identifies himself or herself with mainstream Conservative Judaism.

In theory, this is heresy to Zionism. If every Jew is suddenly and arbitrarily a Zionist, the term is meaningless. In fact, however, the word "Zionist" lost its meaning in America long ago. The main criterion that designates one "Zionist" enough to be represented in the WZO is whether or not one pays dues to a "Zionist" organization like Hadassah, the Zionist Organization of America, and perhaps in the near future, United Synagogue.

One also signs the Jerusalem Platform, proclaiming Israel to be "central" in Jewish life, but true or not, this is hardly a contested issue, since it demands nothing more than a signature. Further commitment to Israel (i.e. aliya, learning Hebrew) is desirable, but neither prevalent nor required.

If one looks at practice, rather than platform, one finds that the main task of Zionist organizations in America is to lobby for Israel on the U.S. political scene and to raise funds. But the Jewish Federations, working with the United Jewish Appeal, are the main fundraisers for Israel. Many who lobby for Israel are not funded by the Zionist organizations or by the WZO. When theory is cast aside, there is little to

AN END TO CHARADES

The average American Zionist is indistinguishable from any Jew, but there is a group — the aliya community — that puts its Zionism into practice and deserves support, writes YEHUDA HANODED

distinguish the average member of an American Zionist group from members or contributors to other Jewish organizations.

SO LET'S stop playing charades. Let's change the name of the WZO to what it really is: WOSI — the World Organization for the Support of Israel.

At this point, I can already hear the objections of a Charlotte Jacobson, former chairman of the WZO's American section and a former president of Hadassah. Do the federations support an aliya-oriented youth movement like Young Judea?

I once heard Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, president of the American Zionist Federation, explain that the difference between a Zionist like him and other American Jews is that he educates his son to make aliya. How can one be critical of people like the above mentioned, who devote their lives to building support for Israel among world Jewry? We need more Charlotte Jacobsons and Joseph Sternsteins.

I mention names to illustrate that the problem lies not in the character and effectiveness of such leaders, but in what roles and for whom they are commissioned to lead. In particular, I wonder if it is wise to call these leaders and their organizations "Zionist?"

Israel came from a movement overflowing with ideological debate. The Jewish state was carved out by leaders who followed up on their ideas through personal example. This is not the case today.

American "Zionist" leaders engage in discussions demanded of

them by an environment quite different from pre-Israel Europe. Their task is — externally — to justify Israeli policy to the American electorate, and internally to raise money and to insure that Israel remains a priority in the budget decisions of the American Jewish community.

Today's "Zionist" leaders, it should be noted, discharge their duties commendably. And changing the WZO to the WOSI will help. Drawing on the fact that Israel is the factor that unites American Jews, they can increase contact of all American Jews with Israel by making the WZO's apparatus available to them. It will help the WZO to serve the world it represents. With fair representation, no longer would the chairman of the WZO's Torah and Education department exclusively promote Orthodox, while the majority of people who identify themselves as Jews do so through the Reform and Conservative movements.

In this spirit, the recent move by United Synagogue is a positive and important step in creating support for Israel. Israel is central to American Jews; to their security, the teaching of Hebrew, to their cultural and philanthropic endeavors. The Conservative leadership recognizes this publicly as a movement, and in so doing, brings the role that Israel plays in the lives of its members to the forefront.

But let's not confuse the important functions of American "Zionists" with the demands of building the Jewish state in our time. Israel's primary need from American Jews is no longer dollars. If this were true, then the American taxpayer is a Zionist and the U.S.

Government is America's leading Zionist organization. Nor is it necessary to be called a Zionist to donate money to Israel.

ISRAEL'S greatest need, hence a Zionist's greatest task, is to bring more Jews to Israel. It is difficult for a father to educate his son to make aliya when the tenets he bestows to the student do not apply to the teacher. American "Zionist" leaders cannot portray a personal vision for the building of the Jewish state, nor speak seriously about Israel in ideological terms, for several reasons.

First, to do so would be hypocritical. Now that Israel exists, the debate over how to build the Jewish state must be decided by the people who will be affected by the outcome of such discussion, namely Israelis and the aliya-bound. Second, ideologies of any kind do not seem to be popular in most circles these days. Certainly American Jews do not care for ideological discussions that threaten their feelings of security as Jews outside of Israel.

Besides, the immediate need is always fund-raising. In this regard, Israel's problems do earn sympathy from American Jews and their "Zionist" leaders. They do not speak of creating a superior quality of life in Israel (not to be confused with an anti-poverty campaign like Project Renewal), because a quality environment depends not on buildings, but on people.

There is a small exception: the aliya community. There are people who dream of building the Jewish state, because they will do just that. At *garin* conferences and aliya meetings throughout the world, there are Jews who gather and debate the best strategy to help build Israel. They employ ideological terms to describe their visions of Israel's future. They respond unequivocally to the challenge of Israel's survival, and hence world Jewry's survival. And there are Jews to whom material advantage is less fulfilling than being a part of a dream.

Such are the people that a Zionist movement must make its leaders if Zionism is to resume the role of a dynamic force outside of Israel. But the leaders of the aliya community cannot compete with the current "Zionist" establishment. By virtue of their age, wealth, and marital status, they fit neither in the realm of Zionist or UJA fund-raising, nor

in the mainstream of synagogue life. Instead, today's aliya leaders are found working in youth movements and Jewish summer camps, teaching Hebrew in temple classrooms, or counselling in youth programmes in Israel.

This is where a Zionist leadership should be: educating American Jews towards aliya through personal example.

THE QUESTION before the Israeli Jew, and before the world's "Zionist" organizations, is what percentage of money donated in the name of Israel should be reallocated by way of the World Zionist Organization, or if you prefer, the World Organization for the Support of Israel? How much should go directly to aliya organizations? Currently, significant financial support reaches the aliya community from the WZO, and many of the WZO's functions are worthwhile in connecting world Jewry to Israel.

But it is a matter of priorities and purse strings. It is simple to check which movements send the most Jews on programmes to Israel, which sponsor *garinim*, nuclei for settlement, which send individual olim. We know exactly who aspires to do the most vital of Zionist work and we know who accomplishes it; yet the aliya community, in real terms, is starving.

If Israel's greatest need is immigration, doesn't it make sense to support those who preach, teach, and practise aliya? If the Zionist movement has "assimilated" to the point where the average American Zionist is indistinguishable from any Jew, doesn't it make sense to lend material means to the most committed, dynamic, and credible Zionists?

The decision by United Synagogues of America should be welcomed. The leadership of a most significant Jewish organization in America aspires to participate in the main organization through which Israeli and American Jews work together: the WZO. Aliya is on the Conservative agenda. Let us hold them accountable to their declaration.

No less important is the imperative to understand what Zionism has become in America; the need to reconsider its future is pressing.

The author is a member of a settlement group working in a development town.

READERS' LETTERS

CAMP DAVID

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — Only the future will tell if the historic Camp David Accords will turn out to be Israel's Munich. The return of the whole of Sinai to Egypt after four bloody wars may turn out to be Israel's greatest mistake. Now the world can exert all its political and moral pressure on Israel to give up the remaining "occupied" lands of Judea, Samaria and Gaza and even Israel's capital, Jerusalem.

After most wars and especially after World War II, Europe's borders were drastically changed. Russia extended its western borders for security reasons and so did Poland, to name a few. Israel has every right to add a few kilometres to its southern border with Egypt. Extending the border a few kilometres would have included the Yamit and Rafah salient and the

THREATS IN THE KNESSET

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — One of the most frightening items that I have read for a very long time, appeared in your issue of March 18. I refer to the reported "threats" against MK Ora Namir and members of her Education Committee staff by certain "truant" members of the committee.

Is this what our much vaunted democracy has come to? What have we come to, when a committee chairman is "threatened" because she is doing her duty? Israeli voters are entitled to know whether or not their representatives in the Knesset are doing their duty. Our TV screen shows us clearly that very few members attend the regular meetings of the Knesset. Absence is usually justified on the grounds that the errant members are busy with committee meetings. If they do not attend committee meetings either, how do they justify their membership of the Knesset — with all the substantial benefits that accrue to them?

I sincerely hope that the charges will be investigated and, if found to be correct, that appropriate action will be taken.

A. LEVINE

Tel Aviv.

INTERNATIONAL BESTSELLERS IN FAWCETT PAPERBACKS

- * NO MAN IS AN ISLAND — Johannes Mario Simmel
- * HERE AND HEREAFTER — Ruth Montgomery
- * STRANGERS AMONG US — Ruth Montgomery
- * EAST OF DESOLATION — Jack Higgins
- * ONE NIGHT IN NEWPORT — Elizabeth Villars

sole distributor
Steinmatzky

JEW IN AGRICULTURE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — Beth Hatefutsoth will present an extensive exhibition in April 1983 on "Jews in Agriculture in the Diaspora in the 19th and 20th centuries."

The Museum is collecting documentary material for the exhibition, such as: photographs, illustrations, pictures, documents, periodicals and professional

publications, publications by Jewish agricultural schools and any other relevant material. The exhibition aims at presenting and reflecting the part played by Diaspora Jews in agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries, in all the countries of their dispersion.

Beth Hatefutsoth appeals to

anyone who may have material relevant to the exhibition to send it to the Museum, preferably with a brief explanation. After being photographed and documented, the material will be returned to the sender if so requested.

E. BENJAMINI,
Temporary Exhibitions Department,
Beth Hatefutsoth,
P.O.B. 39359,
Tel Aviv 61392

Fun and pleasure CRETE

Kopel Travel offers you a selection of enjoyable holidays, on this beautiful island

Price
19.4-21.8

HOTEL IRO
Tourist hotel

\$234

HOTEL LYTTOS
1st class hotel

\$305

ASTIR PALACE
ELOUNDA BEACH
Luxury hotel

\$401

Departures every Monday, starting April 5; return following Monday. Prices are per person in double room, and include return flight to Crete, 7 nights in hotel (half-board) and transfers from airport to and from hotel.

Details and bookings:

KOPEL TRAVEL

Head office: 14 Frishman St., Tel Aviv.
Tel. 03-246121, and at all Kopel branches.

It's a Great World — KOPEL Makes it Greater

great deals on wheels

WHO NEEDS 750 BRANCHES WORLDWIDE?

We certainly don't, and nor do you. You also don't need a fleet of thousands of vehicles.

What you require is a reliable car backed by a reliable personal service. And that's what ELDAN gives you. ELDAN is an Israeli-based car rental company that concentrates all its expertise in the place it knows best — Israel.

We match everything that the others give — free delivery and collection, latest 1982 models (automatic or standard).

PLUS: Highly competitive rates, special prices on long-term rentals, and an intimate familiarity with the local scene.

So jump in to your ELDAN car — and get a taste of the real Israel.

\$10
per day plus km

or: unlimited mileage
\$231/1 week
\$420/2 week
\$567/3 week
\$670/4 month

eldan
rent a car

Tel Aviv: 112 Hayarkon St., Tel: 03-280327,
1 Abnaze Ravit St. (opp. Shalom Tower),
Tel: 03-632229
Jerusalem: 36 Kerem Hayosod St.,
Tel: 02-636183
Ashdod: Ben-Gurion Blvd., corner
Stern St., Tel: 051-22724, 22284
Tel: IL 26398

TODAY'S
LESSON

Safe Drivers
Save School Children's
Lives!

Whose Mandate?

Heavy Vote In Salvador Can Be Read In Many Ways

By RAYMOND BONNER

THAT so many Salvadorans voted last Sunday, often at personal risk, was "a clear indication of a war weariness and a desire for a quick and peaceful solution to the war," a university professor here said. That was the most widely held assessment of why they voted. Yet the results of what was probably the country's most democratic election appeared to be more political infighting, more bloodshed and potentially grave obstacles to United States policy in El Salvador.

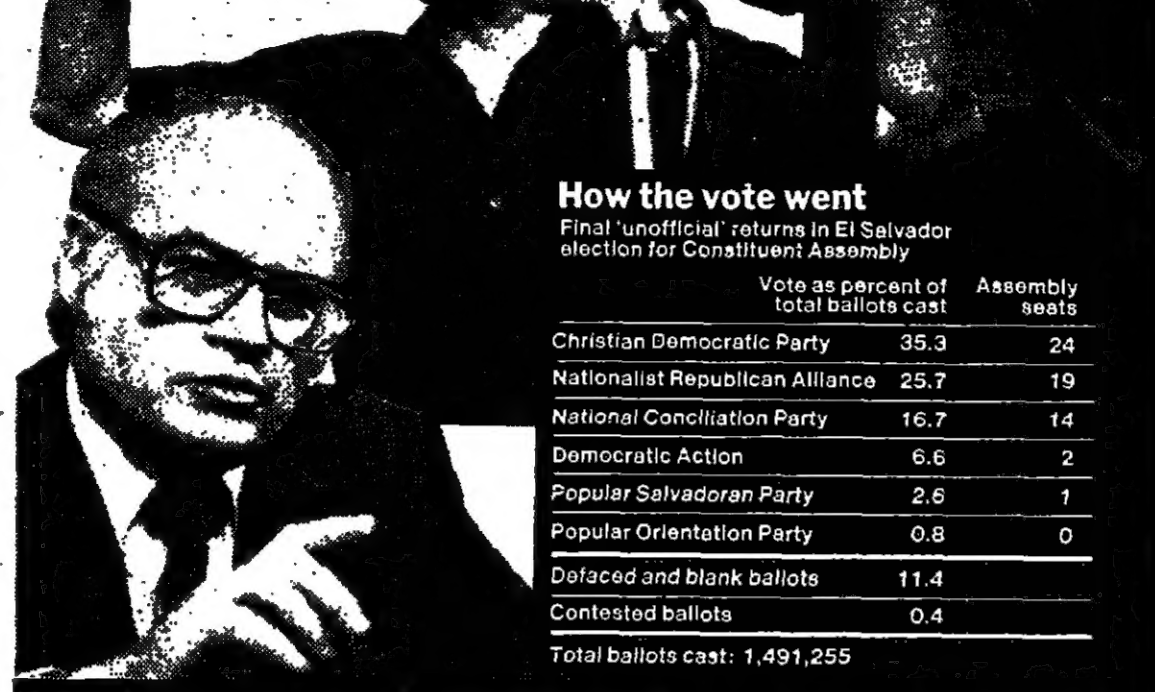
Although the Christian Democrats of President José Napoleón Duarte emerged with a plurality—35.3 percent of the nearly 1.5 million votes cast—rightist parties that oppose the party's social and economic reforms together won 52.4 percent and 36 of 60 seats in the Constituent Assembly. The assembly is to write a new constitution and name an interim government.

The United States, which had staked its hopes on a Christian Democratic victory, was "inspired" by the turnout, as President Reagan told his news conference. But officials were clearly dismayed by the rightist vote totals, in particular the strong showing of the Nationalist Republican Alliance. The party is led by Roberto d'Aubuisson, a cashed-up army major believed responsible for death-squad murders, among them the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero two years ago. During the campaign, Mr. d'Aubuisson referred to the Christian Democrats as "Communists" and vowed to "exterminate" the guerrillas in three months.

U.S. Sees a Half-Full Glass

Reagan Administration efforts to make the best of the election seemed to fall into two categories: trying to shape a coalition government that would continue reforms, and preparing American public opinion to accept a rightist-led regime. Everett E. Briggs, a deputy assistant Secretary of State who was in El Salvador for the voting, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "the right-wing parties include very liberal and very moderate people." Even Mr. d'Aubuisson, who has been persona non grata in the United States since the Archbishop was murdered, will be allowed in Washington in the future, said Thomas O. Enders, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. In San Salvador, Ambassador Deane R. Hinton sent political and army leaders a letter attached to a copy of a foreign aid amendment which requires President Reagan to certify Salvadoran progress on human rights and reforms. Mr. Hinton has called the law "stupid" but is finding it useful as leverage now.

Rightist opposition to including the Christian Democrats in a provisional government softened after party leaders were called in repeatedly to see Mr. Hinton. "The



United States Ambassador Deane R. Hinton (left), President José Napoleón Duarte (center), a Christian Democrat, and Roberto d'Aubuisson, of the Nationalist Republican Alliance; party election symbols.

How the vote went

Final unofficial returns in El Salvador election for Constituent Assembly

	Vote as percent of total ballots cast	Assembly seats
Christian Democratic Party	35.3	24
Nationalist Republican Alliance	25.7	19
National Conciliation Party	16.7	14
Democratic Action	6.6	2
Popular Salvadoran Party	2.6	1
Popular Orientation Party	0.8	0
Defaced and blank ballots	11.4	
Contested ballots	0.4	
Total ballots cast	1,491,255	

army knows that the Christian Democrats have to be in the government, not only to get aid from the United States, but for credibility in the rest of the world as well," said a local business leader with close ties to the army and the American Embassy. But the role the right envisions for the Christian Democrats is one of window-dressing.

Many observers concluded that the vote was less a desire for the left or a victory for the right than an overwhelming expression of Salvadorans' desire for peace. "We have to vote to see if this craziness goes away," said a man waiting to vote in the eastern city of Zacatecoluca, where only a few hours earlier the army battled guerrillas. "It is a very clear warning to the left that there is a population that is fed up with the war," said an educator who supports the left's political goals.

The guerrillas, who boycotted the elections, were

clearly unpleasantly surprised by the turnout. However, more than 11 percent of the voters cast blank or invalid ballots. "The politicians have to realize that these blank and invalid votes were for the guerrillas," the local business leader said. Even some politicians who oppose the guerrillas said that had leftists run, they would have received between 15 and 30 percent of the vote.

Return of the Super Powers

Such speculation afforded little comfort to voters facing the prospect of being governed by "the same faces we saw for so long," as a United States-educated economist said. In October 1979, a coup by reform-minded junior officers halted the long alliance between El Salvador's few wealthy families and the colonels and generals who had occupied the Presidential Palace. Several senior officers

responsible for past repression were retired, among them Major d'Aubuisson. Now he has emerged as perhaps the most powerful politician in the country.

The election also restored considerable influence to the National Conciliation Party. From 1961 until the 1979 coup, it was the official government party, and one of its appointed colonels or generals wore the presidential sash. It is widely accepted that the party deprived Mr. Duarte of his 1972 presidential victory. Because neither the Christian Democrats nor the Nationalist Republicans won a majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly last week, the National Conciliation deputies will hold the margin of power. So far, the party leaders have been waiting publicly with the Nationalist Republicans and flirting quietly with the Christian Democrats.

In addition to drafting a constitution and naming a provisional government, the Constituent Assembly will have legislative powers. This means that it could conceivably reverse the economic reordering begun by the Christian Democrats. The most important change has been land redistribution. The largest estates were converted to peasant cooperatives and tenant farmers were allowed to buy up to 17 acres of land they had worked as sharecroppers. To make credits available to the cooperatives and to redistribute some of the country's wealth, the Christian Democrats also nationalized the trade of major export crops and acquired a controlling interest in all banks.

All the rightist parties have indicated their intention to return the banks and export trade to the private sector. They also criticized land reform, but the program will probably survive in some form because of the Reagan Administration's support for it.

The Army Is Strengthened

Another result of the elections is increased political might for the armed forces, which have been the key obstacle to a political solution to the war. In an interview before the vote, President Duarte said that if his party won, his would be a "legitimate government" that could command more discipline and fewer rights abuses by the army. The Christian Democrats had planned to dismiss at least two senior military commanders and the head of the Treasury Police, Col. Francisco Antonio Moran. Widely feared by Salvadorans, the Treasury Police are considered the most repressive of the security forces. Its soldiers reportedly moonlight as death squad members.

Mario Redaelli, the secretary general of the Nationalist Republicans, said last week that his party would not make any changes in the military commanders. "That is to be handled by the army itself," he said. Mr. d'Aubuisson has said that the army should be freed of restraints.

In the aftermath of the voting, the possibility of a negotiated solution looks increasingly remote. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, the exiled leftist leader, said the guerrillas could not talk to a regime led by Mr. d'Aubuisson "because it's foolish to believe you can have a democratic fascist." The Socialist International, which backs negotiations, said the "so-called elections" provided "no solution to the terrible ravages of the civil war." The Reagan Administration now may be even less inclined to press for negotiations because it interpreted the elections as showing that the guerrillas lack wide popular support. However, for five days before, during and after the voting, the guerrillas engaged the armed forces in the city of Usulután. Their biggest operation in more than two years of civil war. The guerrillas have substantial support and control major sections of the provinces of Usulután and Morazán. "What does this mean for El Salvador?" the university professor asked. "In very simple terms, another year of war." A colleague added, "The absolute paradox is that the election takes us further away from the peace."

Major News

In Summary

Reagan Opens A Window of Credibility

The facts are so complex and the arguments so arcane that the debate over arms control has usually been monopolized by professionals and a few passionately concerned onlookers. But with members of Congress, church leaders and the public in large numbers raising an anticloud voice, President Reagan last week felt called upon to assert a hard line.

Perhaps a bit too hard, in the view of some specialists who were surprised by Mr. Reagan's announcement that "on balance, the Soviet Union does have a definite margin of superiority" which has already exposed United States security to a "window of vulnerability." Moscow's edge, he told an evening news conference, can "absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again." And he continued, "A freeze would not only be disadvantageous—in fact, even dangerous." It would also let the Russians off the hook in forthcoming negotiations on intercontinental weapons (expected to begin this summer) because "there would be no incentive for them" to dramatically reduce nuclear stockpiles—Mr. Reagan's objective. Therefore, he argued, Congressional proposals to freeze the United States nuclear buildup must wait while the Pentagon catches up.

The responses suggested that the White House strategy behind Mr. Reagan's first prime-time news conference, to make maximum use of the televisual talents at hand, was not without risk. His remarks raised at least two broad questions—whether they were accurate, and whether it was wise to make them in any case. Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger, implying that the nuclear

score is still tied, has justified \$1.6 trillion of proposed spending as necessary "to prevent the Soviet Union from acquiring such superiority." Other officials, hoping to tone down Mr. Reagan's interpretation, said the concern was about "trends."

James R. Schlesinger, Defense Secretary in the Ford Administration and no dove, emphasized that "superiority is very difficult to measure." He said, "One of the elements that has always maintained deterrence is uncertainty. To say unequivocally that we may be inferior... weakens deterrence [and] is alarming to our allies."

The President endorsed last week's proposal, to negotiate first and freeze later, by Senators Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, and John W. Warner, Republican of Virginia. Their 58 senatorial cosponsors included a few who also had their names on the freeze-first resolution introduced by Senators Mark O. Hat-

Diagnoses and prescriptions for the economy: a roundtable

4

Invasion in the South Atlantic

For 150 years, London was more amused than interested when Buenos Aires heatedly and repeatedly asserted sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, 5,000 square miles of rocky, wind-blown South Atlantic sheep pasture with possible oilfields off-shore. Last week, Argentina finally got Britain's attention. It sent 4,000 troops to seize the 200 islands (population 1,800 humans and 700,000 mostly absentee-owned sheep) which Britain had ruled since ousting an Argentine garrison in 1833. In brief fighting with 80 defending British marines, an Argentine officer was killed. Argentine newspapers reported continuing scattered resistance by the Islanders.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ordered a task force of 35 to 40 ships—two thirds of Britain's naval strength—to the Falklands, but was intentionally vague about what orders the convoy would be given when it reaches the islands in about two weeks. "That will depend on the situation at the time," she told the first (and stormy) Saturday session of Parliament since the 1956 Suez crisis. Britain also broke diplomatic relations with Argentina, froze its assets and suspended new export credits to the Buenos Aires regime.

The Defense Ministry refused to comment on reports that a British nuclear submarine would reach the Falkland Islands today. The huge task force includes Queen Elizabeth's younger son, Prince Andrew, an anti-submarine pilot aboard the Invincible, a 19,500-ton aircraft carrier. Argentina mounted the invasion from its sole carrier, the 25th of May, a longtime British (later Dutch) ship that was launched in 1943.

Staying on the Rocky Road

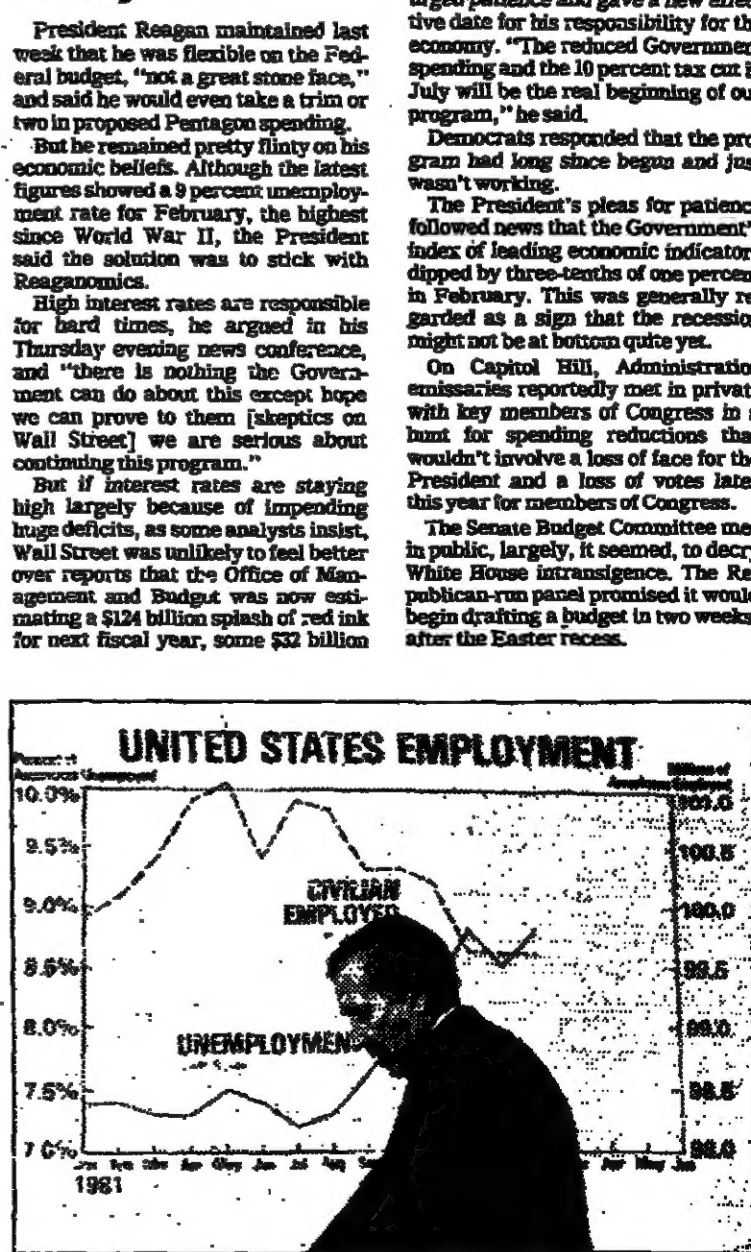
President Reagan maintained last week that he was flexible on the Federal budget, "not a great stone face," and said he would even take a trim or two in proposed Pentagon spending. But he remained pretty flinty on his economic beliefs. Although the latest figures showed a 9 percent unemployment rate for February, the highest since World War II, the President said the solution was to stick with Reaganomics.

High interest rates are responsible for hard times, he argued in his Thursday evening news conference, and "there is nothing the Government can do about this except hope we can prove to them [speculators on Wall Street] we are serious about continuing this program."

But if interest rates are staying high largely because of impending huge deficits, as some analysts insist, Wall Street was unlikely to feel better over reports that the Office of Management and Budget was now estimating a \$124 billion splash of red ink for next fiscal year, some \$32 billion higher than its initial projection.

Yesterday, in the first of a series of weekly radio talks, Mr. Reagan urged patience and gave a new effective date for his responsibility for the economy. "The reduced Government spending and the 10 percent tax cut in July will be the real beginning of our program," he said.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT



Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan standing in front of employment chart during testimony before the House Banking Committee last week.



People with people in mind.



bank leumi בנק לאומי

The World

In Summary

Hanging Tough On West Bank And the Sinai

The Israeli Government last week enforced its hard line against Palestinian protests in the West Bank and Jewish holdouts in Sinai.

Most Sinai settlers, nearly 1,400 families, have packed their belongings and reluctantly met the army's deadline for evacuating the final third of the desert, which is to be handed over to Egypt on April 25 under the Camp David accords. But several hundred militants stayed behind, vowing to resist eviction — most passively, some not. Reinforced by extreme nationalists and Yeshiva students, they built barricades of tires, boards and barbed wire in Yamit. In Atzmona, Orthodox Jews who established the settlement after Camp David continued to build a new synagogue.

In the West Bank — where Israel's latest moves toward what residents

Iraqi forces, even if that means giving up the Shatt al Arab waterway that divides the two countries.

It was to gain control of the Shatt — and to punish Iran's attempts to inflame the Shiite Muslim majority of Iraq — that Saddam Hussein moved in the first place. But with rival Syria at its back and a greater ideological commitment to opposing Israel, Iraq was never willing to commit all its tanks and planes.

Iran's revolution, on the other hand, seems to thrive on enemies and its leaders almost appeared to welcome a real external threat to rally domestic support. The irregulars of the Revolutionary Guards shaped up into an impressive fighting force, while Iran's regular Army seemed to recover from the purges following the 1979 revolution. Spare parts for American weaponry were quietly supplied by Israel, which views Iraq as the more dangerous foe.

Support for Iraq has come from Jordan and the conservative Arab regimes of the Persian Gulf which were not eager for Iraq to win decisively but certainly didn't want it to be humiliated by Iran. The war gave Egypt a chance to repair relations with the Arab world; Egyptians are said to be among the "volunteers" serving with Iraqi forces.

U.S. Braces Asia on Arms

The guns versus butter debate in the United States last week trailed Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger to Asia, where his pleas for higher military spending got a polite but negative reception.

In Tokyo, Mr. Weinberger touched a raw economic nerve, warning that unless Japan substantially raised military spending — budgeted at \$11.75 billion, less than 1 percent of G.N.P. — pressures would grow in the United States Congress to restrict Japanese imports. The Japanese countered that there was no public consensus for an arms buildup and that, in any case, attempts to pare their budget deficit of \$80 billion-plus took precedence.

In Seoul, the Secretary also advanced American economic interests as much as military ones when he turned down a South Korean plea that Washington relax restrictions on the export of weapons made in South Korea under American license. The Koreans tend to charge much lower prices for these weapons, undercutting American companies. Mr. Weinberger said that, as in the past, the United States would consider Korean sales "on a case-by-case basis."

A bit of horse-trading also underlay the reaffirmations of mutual strategic interests by Mr. Weinberger and the Philippines President, Ferdinand E. Marcos. While the American toured the Subic Bay naval base and Clark air field, vital links in the 11,000-mile-long supply line to the United States fleet in the Indian Ocean, Mr. Marcos reminded reporters that the two countries had agreed to an early review of a 1979 agreement on American use of the facilities under which Manila receives \$500 million worth of military aid a year. The agreement expires in 1984.

The Errors of Vietnam's Ways

Communist regimes usually save their bursts of self-critical candor until after the old guard has safely been changed, but at Vietnam's Fifth Party Congress last week the reprimands just wouldn't keep. Vietnam gets \$3 million a day from Moscow, according to Western estimates, but Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said it suffers from shortages of nearly everything — energy, materials, transport, clothing, housing, medicines and even paper.

Lee Duan, the party secretary, blamed the "many acute problems" in part on "shortcomings and mistakes of the party and state agencies, from national down to grass-roots level." Among unworthy members to be "resolutely expelled from the party as soon as possible," he listed "all opportunists, exploiters, scoundrels, speculators, people involved in corruption and bribery and oppressors of the masses."

In an even sterner indictment sent last year to members of the National Assembly, Nguyen Khac Vien, editor of the foreign language periodical Vietnamese Studies, blamed "the hasty leap-forward mentality" for Vietnam's plight. The Far Eastern Economic Review reported his criticisms included "rank inefficiency" in the Government, which is permeated by "intellectuals who specialize in opportunism and crudely flatter the leadership." He called for those responsible for errors to resign.

Last week, Lee Duan, Pham Van Dong and the influential Le Duc Tho held onto power. However, Vo Nguyen Giap, the ailing 71-year-old general who was credited with defeating the French at Dienbienphu and United States forces 20 years later, was retired from the Politburo along with five others.

Barbara Slavin and Milt Frandenheim

Breaking Silence on Argentina's 'Missing'

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

ARGENTINA has seen thousands of disappearances and assassinations since the military took power six years ago, but the reaction to the latest case was extraordinary. The disappearance and murder a few weeks ago of Ana Maria Martinez, a pregnant young woman and former member of a leftist party, was protested by mainstream civic, political and labor leaders, newspapers, magazines and ordinary citizens — as well as the human rights groups, whose vigil had been lonely. "The tragic death of Ana Maria Martinez," a group of respected attorneys said, "is a flag that represents the wounds of thousands of unexplained disappearances that suffocate the country."

The outspokenness reflects growing willingness to criticize the military. Union street demonstrations last week were the largest and most violent in six years. Hundreds of people were reportedly detained and at least 10 were injured. Largely economically motivated, the labor unrest had been evolving over recent months, adding weight to citizens' demands for an accounting of the more than 6,000 missing Argentines and presenting the military with a ticklish challenge.

'Classic' Right-Wing Operation

The Interior Minister, Gen. Alfredo St. Jean, promised last month to release an accounting, a change from the military's previous insistence that the missing were casualties of war and should be forgotten as presumably dead. Two weeks ago, the military Government announced the release of 80 political prisoners, made possible, it said then, by improvement in the security situation.

Miss Martinez was kidnapped a half-block from her home in a poor working class suburb 20 miles from Buenos Aires. She was forced at gunpoint into a Ford Falcon that had been seen cruising the



Demonstrator holding up photograph of a missing relative in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires.

neighborhood. She was found dead two weeks later, half-buried in a muddy river delta. Human rights leaders said the murder was a classic operation by right-wing groups, close to or part of the security forces.

Foreigners in Western countries have long been angry about human rights abuses in Argentina, but Argentines had remained notably silent. Many of them feared retribution; still more had mixed feelings of acquiescence and support. The national consensus six years ago held that drastic measures were needed to combat leftist terrorism that claimed almost 700 lives before the military took over.

Today, the climate of terror has ended. Miss Martinez was the first political assassination victim recorded this year. Last year, human rights groups listed one assassination and one disappearance. Press censorship has eased. Knowledge of abuses has spread. Many Argen-

tines privately concede that the military overreacted. There is no groundswell of demands to prosecute them, but many want an accounting. Most of the missing presumably were killed in torture chambers, pushed from airplanes or succumbed to other grisly fates described by survivors. But their mothers and other relatives continue to hope some may be alive.

The new alliance of forces was dramatized when busy union men from the Light and Power Workers joined mothers of the missing in their weekly march around the Plaza de Mayo, in front of the presidential offices, on the fifth anniversary of the disappearance of Oscar Smith, the union's secretary general. The men demanded "an immediate, full investigation." Mr. Smith had opposed the military politically, but was not allied with guerrillas or their supporters. At a memorial mass for him, with leaders of the outlawed General Confederation of Labor present, there were shouts of "Let the missing reappear alive."

The Roman Catholic Church in Argentina, possibly the most conservative on the continent, was mute during the worst years. But four months ago, the Conference of Bishops issued a statement lamenting "the anguishing situation of the families of the disappeared." Bishops have been speaking out. "How can it be," asked Bishop Miguel Heaen of Neuquen, in a recent Sunday homily, "that the moral crisis that the entire country is now talking about has reached a point where the torture of mothers' and fathers' hearts has been practically institutionalized?"

An Admiral Speaks Up

Five main political parties have also called for an accounting. Political leaders believe that unless the issue is resolved before they return to power, they will be caught between popular pressure and military stonewalling.

Many in the military fear that an accounting will lead to an Argentine version of the Nuremberg trials. But General St. Jean has denied reports that the military is considering a ban on future probes into their actions.

Fissures have developed in the armed forces. Retired Adm. Eduardo Emilio Massera, a member of the junta at the time of the 1976 coup, called publicly for release of a list of people the military knows to be dead. In punishment, the navy jailed the admiral for 10 days. This infuriated the army, which demanded a longer sentence.

The Government has tried to defuse the furor over the Martinez case, asserting it is pressing ahead with the investigation. Interior Ministry officials at first blamed extreme leftists seeking to discredit the Government. But later, two leading newspapers, citing unnamed military sources, said extreme rightists killed the woman. That the newspapers reported these stories at all was a sign of the change that has come to Argentina.

Domestic Feud Shakes Political Dynasty



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (back to camera), Maneka Gandhi (left), Rajiv and his wife, Sonia, and Rajiv's children, Rahul and Priya, at the Prime Minister's residence in New Delhi in 1973.

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

NEW DELHI — It was a clear case of life imitating kitsch. In a theme common to hundreds of Bombay film melodramas, the proud mother-in-law turned her matriarchal fury on her widowed daughter-in-law and ordered her out of the house for plotting against the family's interests. The young widow stalked off with her young child insisting that she was being wrongfully accused.

But this was no film and the mother-in-law was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the powerful leader of more than 700 million people. As gossip-loving Indians watched fascinated last week, the domestic conflicts of their First Family blossomed in full view over issues of honor, loyalty and claims to dynastic succession. The scenario unfolded after Maneka Gandhi, the 26-year-old widow of the Prime Minister's son, Sanjay, spoke at a rally organized by her husband's closest associate, Akbar Ahmed.

He was one of the novice politicians swept into power on Sanjay Gandhi's coattails and whose influence sharply declined after their leader died in a plane crash 18 months ago and Sanjay's brother, Rajiv, entered politics. Making clear that she regarded Mr. Ahmed's meeting as a challenge, the Prime Minister denounced it. Nonetheless, Maneka Gandhi appeared at the gathering and made a fairly innocuous speech that proclaimed her loyalty to the Gandhi family. She returned to the Prime Minister's home, where her room adjoins that of Rajiv and his wife. The next day, Mrs. Gandhi gave her a letter and asked her to leave.

That is the basic script, but in symbols apparent to virtually every Indian, there was much more to the story. Conflicts between mothers-in-law and daughters-

in-law are common. Supplying a subconscious counterpoint to the headlines on the First Family feud, routine small stories recounted the persecution of newlywed brides in the homes of their mothers-in-law. Also, the expulsion of a widow, in the Hindu context, is viewed virtually a violation of taboo. Widows can be abused and shamed, but

they must be maintained and given sustenance by their husband's kin.

The first gush of sympathy, in Delhi at least, therefore seems to have been for Maneka. And skeptics, including some of her confidants, say an awareness of cultural realities shaped her strategy. Students of India's political domesticity and domestic politics contend that Maneka,

Maneka's Letter to Mrs. Gandhi

Dear Mummy,

As usual you have written a letter meant for posterity and the press. In that are several statements that are simply not true. The first offense that you keep talking about is bad language and you can produce the family or your people as witnesses, but it simply isn't true. Secondly, you have talked about Sanjay complaining (about me) when you know, and so does everyone else, of how much affection he had for me.

Now we come to the actuals. The indignities and physical and mental abuse I have suffered in the house — no and I repeat — no human being would have suffered. As soon as Sanjay died you started literally torturing me in every conceivable way. I have borne it for a long time because of Sanjay and because I am your bahu (Hindi for daughter-in-law).

If I had wanted to be against you I would not have fought so bitterly for you in the Janata years — a fact you seem to have conveniently forgotten — when the rest of your family was packed and ready to go abroad. I repeat what I said earlier — that I am not political and have no wish to be — but please let me live my life directly without shouting and abusing me all the time.

Today you have ordered me to leave the house in front of two witnesses, insulted me in front of the servants, ordered my luggage searched, confiscated my son and told me I cannot take him, abused me in public, called my family names and sacked my servants. For what? I went to the convention as a guest. I spoke and will always speak for you.

The rest is up to you. No amount of letters to me will help but a little bit of affection will. My son will always be your grandson first and even if you don't see me, he will come to see you.

I remain your daughter-in-law,

Maneka.



Militant Jewish settlers taking up fortified positions in Yamit last week.

regard as creeping annexation provoked protests in which six Arabs and one Israeli soldier died — the mood largely reverted from open defiance to sullen resentment. Israeli paratroopers and border police patrolled major towns and prevented young Palestinians from staging mass demonstrations. However, terrorists booby-trapped the car of a Palestinian official who has cooperated with Israeli authorities.

Violence also flared in the Golan Heights, where local Druses, members of an Arab religious sect, have been staging a general strike to protest Israel's annexation of the formerly Syrian territory in December. Four Druses who tried to organize a demonstration were shot in the legs by Israeli troops. Six soldiers were slightly injured.

With protests muffled in the West Bank, Arab citizens of Israel proper took up the Palestinians' cause. For the first time, according to Arab leaders, they hoisted the forbidden flag of the Palestine Liberation Organization at rallies marking Land Day, the anniversary of the killing of six Arabs by Israeli troops in 1976 during protests against Government expropriation of Arab land in Galilee. Speakers, including a Jewish Communist leader and member of Parliament, called for creation of a separate Palestinian state and an end to what they regard as discrimination against the 600,000 Israeli Arabs. Many Arab shopkeepers observed a general strike, described by one organizer as "a political answer to the pogroms which the Government is making in the occupied territories."

Israel has ousted three elected Palestinian mayors over their support for the P.L.O. and funneled money into more malleable village leagues. Last week, two Arab mayors who support peaceful relations with Israel condemned the Government policy. "The occupation chooses the worst of the Arabs to deal with," said Mayor Mustapha Natshe of Hebron. "They are following an ostrich policy," said Mayor Elias M. Freij of Bethlehem. "What took place during the past three weeks was not on orders from the P.L.O. People see things and are fed up."

Iran Recoups In Gulf War

Iran invited back the Western press last week for an exercise in show and tell. The Islamic Republic would like the world to know that its forces have broken the back of the 18-month-old Iraqi invasion, rolling back Iraqi troops in places to within a few miles of the border.

President Saddam Hussein conceded Iran's success and urged his battered army not to feel bitter over what he called "the rearrangement of the Iraqi defense lines." Hoping to cut his losses and end the war before September, when a meeting of non-aligned leaders is scheduled in Baghdad, the Iraqi President has been exploring a number of diplomatic approaches. He has expressed willingness to negotiate a full withdrawal of

Oil On T New Glu Far T

OPEC's Collective Deficit Could Reach \$10 Billion This Year

Oil-Price Drop Puts Squeeze On Lending to Poor Nations

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON

THE moon has its dark side, and so does the slide in world oil prices.

Although it has already led to lower inflation in the United States and other oil-importing countries and might help boost them out of recession, the drop in oil prices could also cause further tightening in international lending, especially to the more impoverished countries of the third world.

Even some third world oil exporters have been caught in the squeeze. Nigeria, a heavy borrower which has been running a monthly trade deficit of \$600 million, last week froze virtually all imports because of the decline in its oil revenues. The most populous African country with nearly 100 million inhabitants, it is under pressure to cut prices more deeply than permitted by OPEC agreements to try to increase sales and revenues. Acting in support of Nigeria — and the oil cartel's \$34-a-barrel benchmark price — Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have threatened to cancel contracts with international oil companies that reduce purchases of Nigeria's \$36.50-a-barrel oil in favor of equally high-grade \$31 oil from the North Sea and other non-OPEC sources. Saudi Arabia also is reportedly extending emergency credits to Nigeria to keep it from breaking ranks with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries on prices.

Some economists predict that the 10- to 15-percent decline in world oil prices so far this year will result in new demands on a credit market already besieged by industrial countries trying to finance swollen government deficits. Economist Ronald McKinnon of Stanford University said the deficits of West Germany and Japan were running as high as the United States deficit of around \$80 billion. "Collectively, we're going to be very short of savings because of these massive deficits, and I fear the results will be very high real rates of interest for an extended period," he said. Ernest Stern, senior vice president of the World Bank, added, "The reduced level of savings could put considerable pressure on the financial system, and there may well be some crowding out of borrowers in the future."

Until this year, oil exporters — chiefly the less-populated ones such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya that were earning more from oil than they could spend on imports — were building up large surpluses in the current account of their balance of payments. The revenues were deposited in banks in London, New York, Zurich and other international financial centers and speedily recycled in loans to needier countries.

OPEC's surpluses totaled \$80 billion last year and \$105 billion in 1980. This year, as the 13 cartel members attempt to hold down production to support continued high prices, OPEC could slip collectively into a deficit of \$10 billion, according to Rimmer de Vries, senior vice president of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company. He added that Saudi Arabia, whose current account showed surpluses of more than \$40 billion (before subtracting foreign aid and grants) in each of the last two years, could move into deficit by the end of this year.

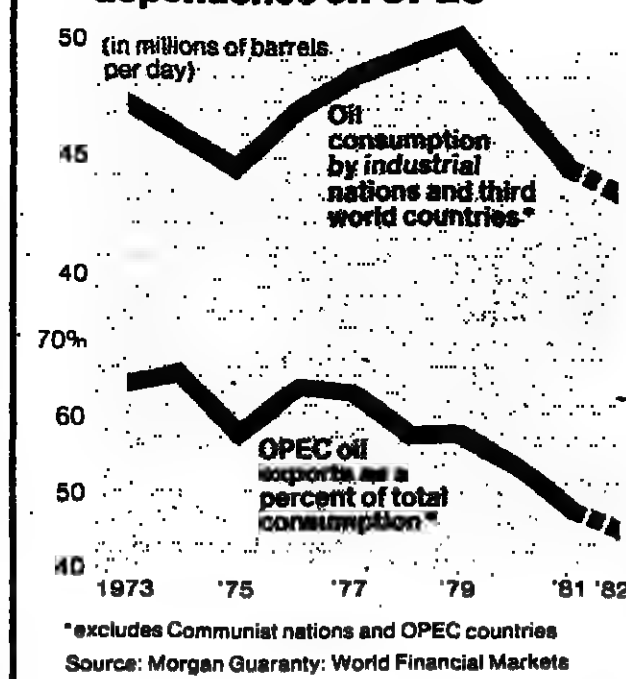
Savings Could Stimulate Growth

Of course, there are also important benefits for industrial and third world consumers. Morgan Guaranty's authoritative World Financial Markets figures that industrial countries together will save more than \$35 billion on oil, savings that could have the stimulative effects of a tax cut on their economies. The United States is estimated to save \$15 billion, Japan \$10 billion and West Germany \$6 billion to \$7 billion. The 12 principal borrowers among third world oil importers — Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, India, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, Ivory Coast, Israel and Turkey — would save about \$7 billion.

Assuming the savings trigger higher growth in industrial countries, there would be immediate feedback in the form of expanded world trade. Every 1 percent increase in the growth of industrial economies leads to about a 5 percent rise in the non-oil exports of developing countries, according to patterns that emerged during the last decade. But savings by the oil-consuming countries, New York petroleum economist Walter J. Levy pointed out, are less likely to wind up in the banking system than OPEC surpluses. Instead, more of the money will probably be spent.

The question is whether greater consumption and

Oil consumption and dependence on OPEC



OPEC's balance sheet

(in billions of dollars)

	1980	1981*	1982*
Oil revenues	274	265	205
Other exports	27	24	26
Imports of goods and services	-199	-235	-250
Investment income, net	11	16	14
Current account total	113	69	-5
Official transfers, net (foreign aid and grants)	-8	-9	-5
Current account after transfers	105	60	-10

*estimate

* projection: Based on following assumptions: oil price of \$29 to \$30 a barrel, oil export volume of 19 million barrels per day, and a five percent import volume growth.

growth will offset the strains on the financial system caused by voracious credit demands, strict curbs on money supply growth in the major industrial countries and the end of OPEC's easily recycled surpluses. While the industrial countries are borrowing to finance deficits, most developing countries, including oil producers, are also tapping world credit markets as never before. The external debt of developing countries now approaches a staggering \$500 billion. In addition, about \$80 billion is owed by Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. Of the five biggest third world borrowers — Brazil, Mexico, Algeria, India and Indonesia — three are oil producers. A country like Mexico, with \$40 billion in loans outstanding, uses up 64 percent of its export earnings just to service its debts. Sliding oil revenues are hitting Mexico particularly hard. It ran up a deficit of \$11.7 billion last year and recently devalued the peso by nearly 50 percent.

Yet, as John A. Mathieson, senior fellow at the Overseas Development Council, observed, oil producers in the third world still have a better credit rating than non-oil producers, which now have to go to the rear of the queue.

Meanwhile, there is a squeeze on resources of official lending bodies such as the World Bank. Its soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association, which lends money at no interest to about 40 of the world's poorest countries, has just seen its lendable funds reduced by 40 percent for the current year because of cutbacks by the United States.

Of perhaps even greater underlying concern to economists is that oil prices may fall too far too fast, as has happened in many other markets. That could jeopardize energy conservation and oil substitution efforts and set the stage for a very damaging sharp increase in prices later in the decade.

Common Market's Agricultural Policy Remains a Costly Battleground

New Disputes Glut Europe's Farm Agenda

By PAUL LEWIS

BRUSSELS

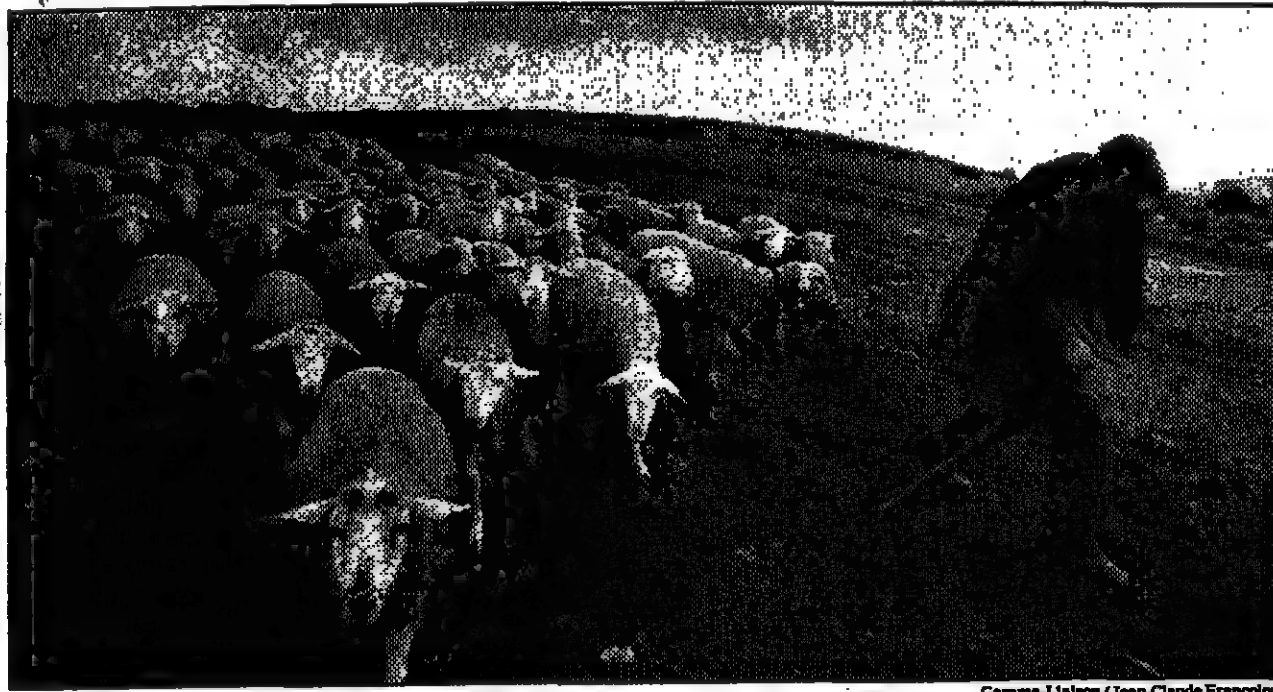
THE latest battle to end Europe's perennial farm wars got under way in customary style last week at a meeting here of Common Market leaders.

Outside the Community's drab gray headquarters, Belgian riot police battled farmers demanding another big rise in the guaranteed prices — already about twice world levels — the Common Market pays for their produce. Inside, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain locked horns with President Francois Mitterrand of France over the subsidy policy, which has resulted in Britain, a net food importer, bearing a disproportionately large share of Common Market costs. Mr. Mitterrand rejected a compromise under which the Ten would have gradually switched spending away from building butter mountains and filling wine lakes to policies of greater benefit to declining industrial countries. Mrs. Thatcher, in turn, threatened to veto all other Community decisions.

Europe thus appeared to be entering another period of political paralysis, just when the deepening world economic crisis, rising East-West tensions and European concern over the course of United States foreign policy make joint action more urgent.

Twenty-five years after the Common Market was created to foster European unity, farming remains the sector where members have had the most success in harmonizing national policies. Yet this Common Agricultural Policy, the CAP, has become a major source of tension among the Ten as well as between the Community and many of its allies, including the United States.

Under the policy, the Ten fix Community-wide farm



Gemma-Libson/Jean-Claude Francoulet
A farmer tending sheep in central France.

prices each year and guarantee to buy any surplus production. Import levies keep foreign goods from undercutting the high European prices. The system's chief architect, the Dutch politician Sicco Mansholt, intended it to modernize European agriculture, eliminate surpluses and encourage industrialization. He wanted prices set at moderate levels to reward efficient farmers and gradually force small holders off the land and into the factories. But the member states kept prices high. France, Italy, Belgium and Holland all hoped to compensate with agricultural exports for an anticipated deluge of West German industrial imports as the Common Market moved toward internal free trade. At the same time, successive German coalition governments tried to buy the farm vote by supporting high prices.

Despite the high prices, small farmers flocked to the cities during the high growth 1960's and early 70's. Fewer

than 10 percent of Europe's work force is on the land today, as against more than 20 percent when the Common Market was created. But output has soared as the remaining farmers boosted production to well above European demand.

At first, the resulting surpluses were stored in those embarrassing butter mountains and wine lakes. More recently, the Community has sold the surpluses at a loss on the world market and made up the difference out of Common Market funds. Between 1958 and 1980, its food exports rose eightfold. The Community is now the world's largest exporter of dairy products and a substantial seller of grain, meat and sugar, all at subsidized prices.

The cost of financing storage or sale has grown to swallow up more than 70 percent of the Common Market's annual budget, currently \$22 billion. Within a few years, after agricultural Spain and Portugal join, it will absorb

the entire budget, which comes from import levies and a 1 percent slice of members' sales taxes. But while the big food exporters get back in subsidies as much or more than they pay in, West Germany and Britain, the Community's two big food importers, have become net annual contributors to the budget to the tune of around \$2 billion each.

Although the Germans complain that the Common Agricultural Policy is wasteful and protectionist, the Schmidt Government seems prepared to go on paying its present share of the bill. Two years ago, Mrs. Thatcher got the Community to approve a three-year schedule of rebates which effectively eliminated Britain's net contribution. The Common Market also pledged to reform the agricultural policy. Now the British want the Community to extend the rebates and to hold down this year's farm prices. But France's Socialist Government, anxious not to alienate further the small farmers of the southwest, is pressing for a 16 percent increase, almost twice the Common Market Commission's proposed 9 percent increase, which Britain still found too high.

Pressure for reform is also coming from other food exporters, such as the United States, Australia and Argentina, which are angry at being crowded out of traditional markets and at seeing world food prices depressed. The Reagan Administration has begun proceedings against the Common Market in the GATT, (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), claiming that Europe's subsidized food exports breach international trading rules.

Although most members pay lip service to the need to change the policy, the obstacles to real reform remain formidable. France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Ireland and Denmark all benefit from the system. Also, rising farm exports are helping to pay Europe's oil bill. With unemployment approaching 9 percent, European governments want their remaining farmers to stay down on the farm. Meanwhile, their battle against inflation forces them to watch public spending and leaves them less able to cushion farmers against a reduction in Community support.

Even Britain's support for reform is less firm than its Conservative Prime Minister might admit. The country's small but efficient farming community does particularly well because of the high Community prices and British farmers generally vote Conservative. Britain's food exports are rising and at the present rate will overtake imports by 1987. Britain thus might settle for an open-ended pledge that it will never again become a major net contributor, without securing any true change in farm policy.



ISRAELI COOKING ON A BUDGET

Sybil Zimmerman, ed.

Hundreds of recipes in over 300 illustrated pages. Simple recipes for delicious, inexpensive meals were collected from 28 contributors, including Sabras and new immigrants. This popular cookbook is now in its third edition. Compiled and edited by Sybil Zimmerman, author of *Wonders of a Wonder Pot*.

Published by The Jerusalem Post. 304 pages, paperback, illustrated and indexed. IS 48

ALL-FAITH BOOK OF FEASTS

By Israel Lippel

Nearly every day is a holiday in Israel, home to scores of ethnic and religious groups. More than 400 holidays in 1982 are listed chronologically, with a brief description of their significance and manner of celebration in the community that observes each day. The *All-Faith Book*

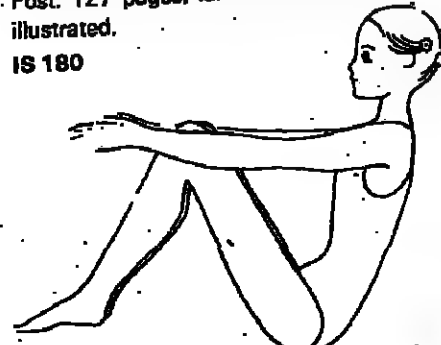
of Feasts offers information not available from any other source, fully indexed and condensed in a slim, 21 x 29 cm, paperback volume. Published by the Jerusalem Institute for Interreligious Relations and Research. 64 pages, paperback, indexed. IS 78

GROWING UP THIN

By Judie Oron

Do you think you're too fat? Too skinny? Too flat-chested? Too wide-hipped? *Growing Up Thin* can help you learn to cope with — even love — your body, including its "imperfections." The book includes excerpts from interviews with over 100 women who discuss how they feel about their bodies, and how these feelings affect their lives. Author Judie Oron offers a simple programme of diet and exercise to help fight physical "inflation" and break bad habits at any age. Ms. Oron's weekly "Figure It Out" column on this subject first appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* in 1976.

Published by Carta and The Jerusalem Post. 127 pages, laminated hardcover, illustrated. IS 180



BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!

Need a special gift? Or are you just feeling a little self-indulgent? There's nothing better than a book. The titles listed here are available from the offices of *The Jerusalem Post* in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. You can order by mail, too. Just fill out and send the coupon below, with your cheque, to THE JERUSALEM POST, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem. Prices include VAT. Postage and handling are free.

TO: THE JERUSALEM POST, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

Please send me:

Book title	Price
.....	IS
.....	IS
.....	IS
.....	IS

I enclose cheque for TOTAL: IS

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

TOWN

POSTAL CODE

HOW TO GET WHAT YOU WANT IN NINE LANGUAGES

Lixi Vauxhall, ed.

This handy phrase book gives travellers the appropriate translations into Hebrew, English, German, French, Italian, Greek, Japanese, Spanish and Dutch. Slim enough to be conveniently carried in a pocket.

Published by Carta and The Jerusalem Post. 150 pages, paperback, illustrated. IS 66



THE JEWISH PRESS THAT WAS

Aryeh Bar, ed.

Journalists and other first-hand observers tell the story of pre-Holocaust Europe's vital Jewish press. Anecdotes, historical observations and photographs help depict the broad range of ideologies, outlooks, nationalities and languages reflected in the Jewish newspapers of that era.

Published by the World Federation of Jewish Journalists. 459 pages, hardcover, illustrated and indexed. IS 250

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!

CHAIM NACHMAN BIALIK: SELECTED POEMS

Ruth Nevo, translator

The bilingual edition, with Hebrew original and English translation on facing pages. Translated by Ruth Nevo, professor of English Literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A beautiful gift for anyone who loves poetry.

Published by Dvir and The Jerusalem Post. 196 pages, hardcover. IS 170

ISRAELI GARDENING ENCYCLOPEDIA

By Walter Frankl

Comprehensive, month-by-month instructions for planting everything that grows in Israeli gardens, homes and window boxes. For green-thumbed wizards and regular, garden-variety plant lovers, this bestselling book is a must.

Published by Carta and The Jerusalem Post. 256 pages, laminated hardcover, illustrated. IS 297

A ROUNDTABLE: Three Views of the Recession

The Ailing Economy — Diagnoses and Prescriptions

AS Congress confronts President Reagan's prescription for economic revitalization, the nation is staggering through one of the worst slumps since World War II. Debate about the nature of Mr. Reagan's remedy is being conducted simultaneously with debate over the structure of the economy itself.

Last week, *The Week in Review* brought together three experts on the economy and its workings — David M. Gordon, chairman of the economics department of the New School for Social Research and director of the Center for Democratic Alternatives, a New York-based research and educational institute; Felix G. Rohatyn, senior partner in the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres & Co. and chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, New York City's finance agency; and Walter B. Wriston, chairman of Citicorp and Citibank and a member of the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board. Excerpts of their discussion with Leonard Silk, *The New York Times*'s economics columnist, follow.

Question. Let's start with the present state of the economy. Clearly, we are in a recession. Are we in a more serious situation, in what once upon a time would have been called a depression, that has lasted several years and included some dips and recoveries? Or is depression isn't really the right word, is there reason to call it a recession — that is, the result of deliberate Government policy for suppressing inflation?

Mr. Wriston. We're very clearly in a recession; certainly not a depression. In the 30's, the money supply was reduced by 30 percent, which brought on the depression which we did not solve except by World War II.

Where we are is that when the President took office the inflation rate was 12 percent to 13 percent. The inflation is clearly down; on a monthly basis it may even be zero in some months. On whether we've bottomed out, there is increasing real demand in the retail area, but the inventory adjustment has been severe. I would suspect that we're about to move up out of the saucer.

Mr. Rohatyn. I don't think we're in a depression. We're in a fairly severe recession; probably for the first time since the war we have a worldwide contraction.

There's enormous uncertainty and a certain amount of fear with respect to financial structures that have gotten considerably weakened as a result of the last 10 business cycles. Those structures have to be looked at from the point of view of the need for a reasonably prompt reduction in interest rates, to enable businesses to redo their balance sheets. Until long-term rates come down, (they) are not going to be able to be refinanced adequately.

Mr. Gordon. Well, we're obviously in a recession. It doesn't make much sense to use the term 'depression,' because it was particular to the conditions in the 1930's and 1980's, and also the 1930's. I would say that we're in a period of crisis, in three senses.

First, economic conditions have gotten worse with each successive business cycle since the middle of the 60's. That's best measured by the ordinary indicators of how well people are faring — the average worker's real spendable earnings have fallen back to a level they were in 1956.

Second, the ordinary — what economists call 'equilibrating' — mechanisms of the economy work less and less well. One of the normal ways the economy recovers is that the corporate profit rate recovers during recession as a result of wage and inventory adjustments. With each successive business cycle since the mid-60's, the corporate profit rate has been lower than at the comparable point in the preceding cycle.

The third sense is (that) resolving the instability will require institutional restructuring (such as) took place around the turn of the century and after World War II.

Mr. Wriston. Another structural thing is unusual. There are 40 states in the United States, roughly, that are in very good shape economically. There are 10 states, roughly, that would recognize that they're in a very bad recession — those tied to home building and to the smoke stack industries, steel, autos and so forth.

There's a sea change that analysis has not taken into account. In excess of 70 percent of our work force are in the service business, and the service business is booming. The automobile business will never come back to where it has been, nor, perhaps, the steel business. The question is, when you have a sea change, how is restructuring of jobs going to take place?

Mr. Rohatyn. Where we're going to argue a little bit — at least from the numbers I've looked at — (is on) the number of states that are going to have financial hardship or budgetary difficulty. . . .

Mr. Wriston. That's different from industrial problems.

Mr. Rohatyn. I understand. But practically all except the energy-producing states are going to have anywhere from medium to severe budgetary problems in the foreseeable future, which means that they'll either have to increase their taxes or reduce their services — or probably a combination of both.

Q. Aside from the technical aspects of the current recession, though, we all have a feeling that there is need for a more fundamental diagnosis.

Mr. Gordon. It's probably helpful to start by mentioning a couple of diagnoses that are wrong. Our economy does not suffer from overheating. It's very slack, with levels of utilization far below the 50's and 60's. It's also fair to say that the problem is not either the size of the deficit or the degree of government intervention in the economy. We have been out-performed by European countries in which the deficit is a higher percentage of G.N.P. and the role of government is much more substantial.

Productivity Measures the Problem

I would say, with many other economists, that the measure of our problem is the slowdown in productivity growth. And I would argue that our problems began inside the structure of the highly centralized corporate system that emerged after World War II, due to its inflexibilities and, at its roots, lack of democratic power.

Two additional problems have compounded the instability. Corporations have turned increasingly to paper or financial investments, disinvesting in real structures and equipment — the productive core of the economy. And the Government has tried to solve the economy's rigidities by putting it through a wringer — imposing more and more restrictive fiscal and monetary policies to try to cool out some of those rigidities.

Mr. Wriston. The fundamental problem I see is that a kind of Friday afternoon paranoia has developed. Every writer's screen goes dark at noon, and the money supply comes out at 4:30 P.M. and the brilliant analysts and various journals write 'It was higher than we expected, and was lower than we expected.'

The result is that the Fed now has a zero option. If the

Fed does anything different from what it is now doing, it will abort what we're now engaged in. If it prints more money the rates are going to go up; if it tightens up, the rates are going to go up. Therefore the only course to get out of this thing is to continue along the path on which we are now engaged.

Second, the terrible fact is that we're paying more taxes today than when Jimmy Carter left office. Unfortunately, Congress did not put in the 10 percent cut in marginal rates in July; they put it in the last quarter, which was a 1 1/2 percent decrease.

Mr. Rohatyn. Where I part company is on the notion that there aren't some taxes that could be imposed, such as gasoline taxes or import fees on crude oil.

I don't believe (they) would slow down the economy, especially if you rebate some of these taxes to people in lower income groups. And they would, at the same time, reduce our deficit and take some pressure off the system — protect the \$20 billion to \$30 billion investment that the automotive industry has made in small cars now that people, with the illusion that the energy crisis has been solved, are running to buy big automobiles; and put some more pressure on OPEC.

Mr. Gordon. The problem with fine-tuning, as they used to call it before they got embarrassed, is that those policies are suitable for times of recession. That's precisely not the situation we're in. We're in a situation of spreading economic and institutional instability.

I would try to focus again on the problem of productivity. One of the main reasons that the economy has got-

ten into trouble and that we've fallen so far behind both Japanese and European economies is that workers in the United States have far less of a stake in both the production and the economy than in almost any other advanced country, in terms of participation, control and security.

It's finally time to talk about real workplace democracy. Obviously we can't expect most employees to negotiate reasonably and sensibly about cutbacks, investment, unless they know what the numbers are. What we need are some of the kinds of guarantees that many European countries have for laws to open the books. Much more important, we need to move in the direction of the Swedes, of legally sanctioning worker bargaining over all aspects of the organization structure and investment.

Mr. Rohatyn. Having a labor leader on the board of a corporation I'm not sure is a good idea from the labor leader's point of view. But from my point of view as a director of a number of public companies, I see no problem in it. I have no problems with disclosure; disclosure laws are already on the books.

Tripartite Negotiations

I would suggest that a better way to attain productivity and involvement is to have a larger part of compensation paid out of profit-sharing and more limited cost-of-living clauses. I would like to see labor agreements that are maybe year-to-year — the way they are in some countries, where there is some sort of rough consensus between the Government, business and labor as to the econ-

omy for the year ahead — and limiting wage increases to the rate of inflation or somewhat below.

Mr. Gordon. It's not just a question of compensation. It's also a question of the nature of work. There are two severe problems in the United States. One is that we have top-heavy managerial and administrative structure; we now spend 20 cents out of every dollar on managerial and supervisory salaries. Much of that is wasted effort. How do we change that? The issue is not simply compensation but the ability to bargain over the actual organization.

A second example is the accident rate. If accident rates have doubled in 15, 20 years, what means do workers have to begin to gain some protection? If they have few means, what can we expect their response to be? Very negative, very resistant. One can make a strong argument that the reason the United States fell from the first in G.N.P. per capita to roughly ninth or tenth in the world is precisely because of the much more sluggish productivity growth and constricted opportunities that workers have for participating in how to do their work.

Mr. Wriston. The European steel business last year lost \$1 billion. Their productivity is very poor. They have moved to protectionism. The Swedish experiment — they're in very serious trouble, the society and the balance of payments. So I don't think that role model is necessarily the one to follow.

The productivity of the United States in service business, for example, has been going up faster than any place I know. All you have to do is look at the cost per transaction in the minicomputer now and 10 years ago. You have to be careful with these numbers. Whether 20 percent for management is wasted I wouldn't know. The chances are half of it is. Which half is the difficult problem.

Mr. Rohatyn. From a national security point of view and from the point of view of bringing a large class of people who are presently outside the social and economic system into the system, we need a balance between the industrial and the service sectors.

Therefore, although I would strenuously oppose national economic planning, I certainly support the notion that the Government, through mechanisms such as an updated version of an Reconstruction Finance Corporation, intervene in areas such as urban infrastructure investment and in limited areas of industrial decline — not only to refinance but to restructure businesses that are on the decline, such as the automotive industry or the steel industry, to make them competitive.

Q. Let's wind up with a more close-in look. What advice would you give President Reagan about changes that may or may not be necessary in his program?

Mr. Gordon. Keep your chin up.

Mr. Wriston. The basic program that he put in place was proper. The idea of a steelworker making \$30,000 a year and a 40 percent marginal (tax) rate is just wrong for this society. So I would urge him not to change that program, particularly for individuals.

When the tax bill got into Congress they hung bells and whistles on the Christmas tree, including the tax leasing provision. There are seven municipalities whose buses are running because of that provision. As to whether that should go away on the industrial side — I think you can make an argument. On whether it should go away on the municipal side, I would have some question.

On the budgetary side — what really transpired, despite the rhetoric in the papers, is that Federal expenditures have increased by 7 percent instead of 15 percent. And I don't know of any way to get the country back to where the ordinary worker isn't being ripped off by inflation except to cut expenditures.

Q. The President should not worry that much about the deficit? Or would you urge him to take further actions beyond those now proposed for cuts in the social area, by doing something about taxes or military spending?

Mr. Wriston. The deficit is a manageable number in today's environment; it's about 3 percent of the G.N.P. If interest rates fell, which they're going to sharply, it would cut the budget deficit by \$50 billion. A Government budget deficit is the intersection of two wild guesses a year from now. The allocation of the resources which are drawn from the private sector into the public sector is what we're talking about.

Beyond Short-Term Management

Mr. Gordon. Our problems are simply not problems of short-term fiscal management. Increasingly, the current trend in Government policies is rewarding what I would call a kind of lemon capitalism — giving indiscreet and indiscriminate tax breaks to both the wealthy and to business regardless of their interests.

We need to open up discussion about economic policy so that the more than 50 percent of people who don't vote — and, one can quite fairly conclude, do not feel represented by the terms of economic debate in the last elections — have access to alternative proposals. We aren't getting it out of the Administration. We certainly aren't going to get it out of a Congress in which the average wealth of a Congressman is now approaching \$500,000.

Mr. Rohatyn. I don't think this country can ever be on a sound economic footing until you do something about the growth in middle-class entitlement programs. That, for the first time, I think, can be part of a package. No. 2, as I said earlier, there is a big difference between taxing and borrowing. Especially in the consumption area, we could put on some additional taxes.

Third, I believe it is politically, philosophically and practically impossible to ignore the groundswell of anti-nuclear protests. Again, this would be a unique opportunity to make a major move — cutting back on down-range large nuclear systems and increasing conventional forces through the imposition of the draft or national service, and going to the Europeans with a package that challenges them to match us. The worst thing would be a budget package that is too little, too late. Because public expectations have been raised.

Mr. Wriston. The defense of the United States is not really a budgetary item. We need what we need to protect ourselves in a dangerous world. I'm probably the only nonmilitary expert on that subject that you've met. I don't know what the right number is. I do know that the expenditures that are now being made are not on exotic systems. The current ones are buying maintenance for an armed force that was on the ragged edge.

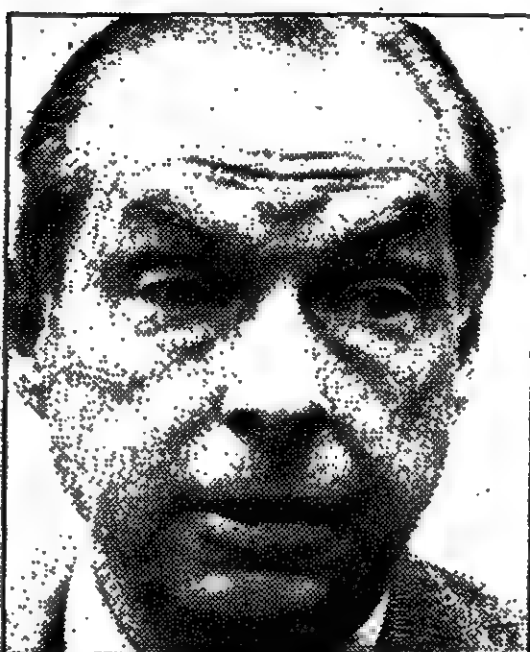
Mr. Gordon. I can't imagine defending either the quality or the quantity of current military expenditures. Even the Boston Study Group, a very mainstream group, estimates that one could cut 30 percent out of the current defense budget without having sacrificed a single national security objective.

Mr. Rohatyn. Anybody probably can tell you that you can cut X percent out of the Defense Department without feeling it. It should be done. Now, whether that means you should spend more in different ways, I can't answer.



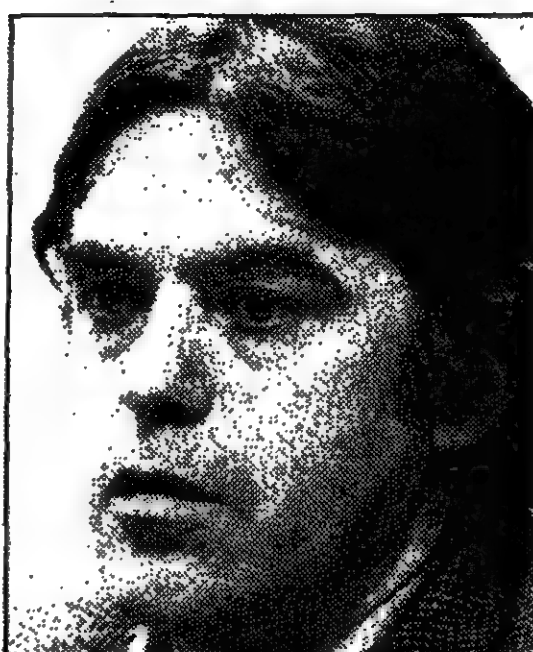
Felix G. Rohatyn

'In consumption, we could put on some extra taxes'



Walter B. Wriston

'A deficit is the intersection of two wild guesses'



David M. Gordon

'Government policy rewards lemon capitalism'

Photographs by The New York Times/Jack Manning

Changing fortunes

Gross Domestic Product per capita*
(in U.S. dollars at current prices and exchange rates)

1960	1970	1980
United States 2,805	United States 4,789	United States 11,364
Canada 2,280	Sweden 4,084	Switzerland 11,922
Sweden 1,897	Canada 3,463	Sweden 11,476
Luxembourg 1,650	Switzerland 3,350	West Germany 11,385
Switzerland 1,614	Denmark 3,222	Denmark 12,552
Britain 1,562	Luxembourg 3,172	Luxembourg 12,570
Iceland 1,323	West Germany 3,089	Iceland 12,469
France 1,325	France 2,788	France 12,136
West Germany 1,310	Belgium 2,676	Netherlands 11,651
Denmark 1,206	Netherlands 2,431	Belgium 11,613
Belgium 1,236	Iceland 2,418	Canada 10,585
Finland 1,140	Finland 2,318	Finland 10,440
Netherlands 966	Britain 2,193	Britain 10,135
Japan 943	Japan 1,989	Japan 9,506

*Gross Domestic Product is the total value of goods and services produced within a country's borders.

The slippery history of deficits

	Office of Management and Budget (Administration estimate)	Congress's first budget resolution	Congressional Budget Office (estimate based on no policy change from previous year)	Congressional Budget Office re-estimate	Actual
1976	-51.9	-38.8	n.a.	n.a.	-68.4
1977	-43.0	-50.8	-65.0	n.a.	-44.9
1978	-43.0	-41.1	-44.0	n.a.	-48.9
1979	-60.6	-50.9	-38.0	n.a.	-27.7
1980	-25.0	-25.0	-19.0	-40.2	-28.6
1981	-15.8	+0.2	-37.0	-19.4	-57.9
1982	-45.0	-47.0	-50.0	-38.2	-67.2

*March 1981 revisions **Feb. 1982 n.a. = not available Sources: Office of Management and Budget; Congressional Budget Office

The Economy

By WILLIAM S. ANDERSON

ALBERT EINSTEIN once mildly chided the public for indulging in what he called "boundless admiration." He explained that the contrast between the popular estimate of his powers and the reality of those powers was "simply grotesque."

No doubt many a successful Japanese businessman today shares Einstein's uneasiness about being lionized. Suddenly they have been elevated to a pedestal which few of them, if any, ever expected to occupy. A veritable flood of books, articles, lectures and television programs have portrayed their management methods — from executive suite to production line — as more advanced than those of Western companies.

To their credit, most Japanese businessmen have slipped this heady brew with great caution. Many Western managers, however, have been less temperate. To them, the fact that the Japanese are doing many things right

William S. Anderson is chairman of the NCR Corporation.

confirms that a new breed of super-managers has emerged on the world business scene.

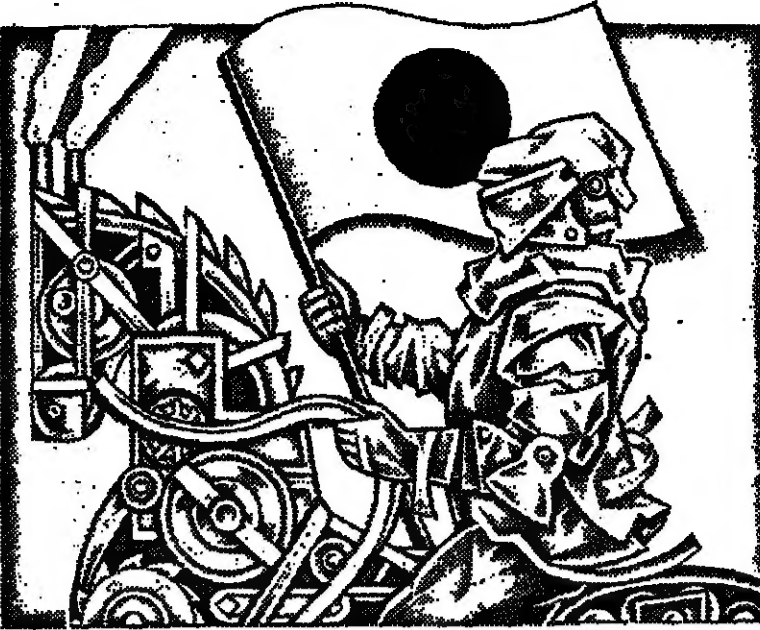
Perhaps it is time for Western businessmen to remember that humility, while not an unbecoming trait, can distort as well as enhance one's perspective. We see evidence of this in the widespread conviction that Japanese management practices are intrinsically superior to those of the West and Japanese companies in their quest for world markets are unhampered by any weaknesses worth mentioning.

But are those conclusions valid? I think many Japanese would be the first to say they are not — and with good reason.

Westerners, for example, are quick to point out that Japanese managers tend to take the longer-term view, compared with the shorter-term orientation of their American and European counterparts. What is usually overlooked is that this is possible only because Japanese companies operate in a different financial environment from that of most of their Western competitors.

In Japan bank loans are the primary fuel for corporate growth and frequently a company and its bank

Don't Be Blinded by the Rising Sun



John Tait

will have an equity position in each other. The lending bank is generally happy to continue pumping out as much capital as is needed so long as the company can meet its interest payments. Other shareholders tend to walk softly because the stock they carry is relatively small.

Few Western managers enjoy the

luxury of even a mildly cavalier attitude toward short-term performance. Shareholder equity, rather than bank loans, is their major source of capital. And much, if not most of that equity is held by diverse and demanding institutional investors. Current earnings, growth, and to a lesser extent dividend growth are the criteria by which

management performance is measured.

One can protest that perhaps those are the wrong yardsticks. But it is erroneous to assume that the Western manager's greater concern with near-term results signifies an errant management philosophy. The two different approaches simply reflect pragmatic responses to the realities of financing growth in different business environments.

It is equally simplistic to suggest that the Japanese have achieved perfection in all aspects of business management.

The fact that most large Japanese companies are superb exporters cannot be denied. Yet only a few are true multinationals in the sense of having made heavy direct investments in overseas manufacturing and distribution facilities and having staffed high-level management positions with foreigners. The potential penalties for this are now becoming apparent.

The rising clamor for protectionism indicates that there are limits on how much growth any country can achieve through exports alone. The Japanese are now aware of this. Indeed, the recent flurry to further open their own markets to foreign products was prompted by a grave concern that the gates to several key international markets could be slammed shut rather abruptly.

Why have so few Japanese companies emulated Western-based multinationals in becoming fully internationalized?

Probably the foremost reason is the prevailing belief that foreigners possess neither the motivation nor methods to duplicate in their own countries the successes achieved by all-Japanese enterprises. This questionable assumption, although somewhat less pervasive today than formerly, has been and remains a weakness of Japanese management.

A second weakness, which has increased the possibility that protectionist barriers will proliferate, is an apparent lack of understanding of the current anxieties of hard-pressed Western countries. This is paradoxical, since the Japanese are exceptionally well informed on international economic developments. Yet to many Westerners some Japanese businessmen seem unable or unwilling to com-

prehend and adjust to other countries' economic problems.

A third vulnerability is the preoccupation of many Japanese managers with achieving growth in market share and/or revenues at almost any cost. Motivated in part by commitments to lifetime employment but also by a compulsion to outperform any and all competitors, they tend to relegate the role of profits to a mere footnote in their manual of management principles. Up to now, the penalties for doing so have been few. But if Japanese companies are forced by diminishing export opportunities to greatly expand their overseas investments, this could be a formidable handicap in financing such ventures.

Much of the praise accorded Japanese management practices has focused on the skills displayed in managing human resources. This applause is well deserved. Few Western companies have matched their Japanese counterparts in building and sustaining employee enthusiasm, unity of purpose and willingness to work hard and well.

Nevertheless, those who see only perfection in Japanese personnel practices demonstrate less than 20-20 vision. Typically, if you work for a Japanese company and are young, able, and ambitious, you had better have a great store of patience upon which to draw during the long years you are serving your management apprenticeship. Overemphasis on seniority makes climbing to the top slow, tortuous and frequently frustrating.

Whether today's "new" generation of Japanese management aspirants will remain content to be denied access to even the first rungs of the management ladder until they approach middle age is debatable. And if you are young, able, ambitious and also a woman, you are likely to be keenly aware of another imperfection of the tendency to view women as inherently more interested in — and better suited for — careers in homemaking rather than in business.

More and more Japanese companies are recognizing the perils of basing promotions too heavily on seniority and the disadvantages of underutilizing the talents of half of Japan's total population. But change that strikes at the heart of long-held traditions necessarily comes slowly.

Risks in Foreign Stocks

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

WITH Wall Street giving investors fits for nearly a year now, is the grass any greener in overseas markets? It wasn't last year. The 1981 bear market, a product of faltering economies, soaring inflation and a strong dollar, trampled stocks in most countries, dampening American enthusiasm for overseas investment.

"There was virtually no place to hide last year," said André Shanon, director of international research for Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc.

In 1980, pointed out Carolyn Hildebrandt of the Securities Industry Association, United States investors bought a record \$2.1 billion of foreign stocks. Last year, the total was just \$75 million.

One example of the kind of drubbing investors have taken in foreign stocks is the performance of two prominent Japanese issues, Sony and Matsushita. During the last 52 weeks, their prices have been cut in half, reflecting fears of protectionism and flattening product demand, as well as Japan's own sagging economy and equity market.

Another example is the Mexico Fund, a mutual fund offered last June by a syndicate headed by the Merrill Lynch White Weld Capital Markets Group, Bache Halsey Stuart Shields Inc. and Salomon Brothers. Promising long-term appreciation, the syndicate sold 10 million shares of the fund at \$12 apiece. The shares recently traded at \$4.25. Causes of the decline included the Mexican Government's decision to devalue the peso, which then fell sharply, the global oil glut and Mexico's high inflation rate.

Still, the lure of investing abroad is powerful. "The attractions are twofold," according to M. David Testa, president of the T. Rowe Price International Fund Inc. "One is diversification of assets and the other is exposure to fast-growing areas abroad."

And the rewards, if scarce these days, can be handsome. U.S. Trust, for example, was an early buyer of convertible debentures in Novo Industri, a Danish biotechnology company that produces insulin. Between May 1980 and September 1981 the bank reaped a profit exceeding 300 percent for clients, then promptly moved out of Denmark.

If there's any one signal of the strength of another country's stocks, it is a strong national currency. Last year, for example, a rising dollar accelerated a decline in value for many overseas stocks. Conversely, a rising pound, say, would tend to lift stock prices in the British market.

"The correlation between currencies and stock market movement have become much closer in recent years," said Edward B. Moss of the United States Trust Company. "The key today is the level of interest rates in this country. If our rates stay high, it will hinder economic recovery not only in

the United States but also on a worldwide basis. But if interest rates decline here, economic activity can pick up overseas."

For those who are scouting the globe for opportunities, one recent trend is toward Europe, notably the large markets of West Germany and Britain. France, with a Socialist Government in the exception. Both U.S. Trust and the Fidelity Trust Company of New York, a leading manager of internationally diversified portfolios for two decades, have pulled out of that country entirely.

Losing some of the United States business are nations in the Far East and also Canada. In the latter

Bear Traps		
Performance of foreign stock exchanges in 1981 relative to the local currency and adjusted for the fluctuations against the U.S. dollar. Figures represent a leading stock index for each country.		
Country	Stock Market Index (Percent change)	Adjusted to U.S. Dollar (Percent change)
Australia	-18.5	-20.0
Britain	+11.8	-10.6
France	-17.8	-34.4
West Germany	-1.2	-13.3
The Netherlands	+2.4	-11.6
Hong Kong	-4.6	-13.9
Japan	+8.8	+20.0
Standard & Poor's 500	-9.7	-

country, a favorite during the energy boom, a net buying total of \$776 million in 1980 reversed itself into net sales of \$827 million last year.

Last year, said Mr. Moss of U.S. Trust, "For the first time in seven years, we de-emphasized the Far East in favor of Europe. Our view was that Europe would be the first area abroad to emerge from recession. In addition, European stocks were selling at very depressed levels."

The bank manages an international securities fund for pension and profit-sharing plans as one part of its overseas investments. The fund's asset commitment in Japan has dropped from 44 percent in mid-1981 to 23.4 percent at present and the money

that came out of Japan went into cash, foreign bonds and some European equities.

Present holdings in Britain include Guest Keen (engineering), ICL (computers) and I.C. Gas (oil and energy supplies). Other commitments range from Philips Lamp (electronics) in the Netherlands to Credit Suisse (banking) in Switzerland.

The T. Rowe Price International Fund in Baltimore, tending \$70 million in assets, began cutting back its equity exposure in the Pacific Basin early last year. It now has a little less than half its assets in Japan and 2 percent each in Australian and Hong Kong equities.

Over the long pull, Mr. Testa said, "The Pacific Basin countries will offer the greatest opportunities for growth." But, he said, "Far Eastern stocks had done extremely well, and we felt that Europe was bumping along the bottom and offered good values." West German and British securities now each account for 10 percent of the fund's stock portfolio, and the fund has a healthy stake in bonds of both nations.

"For equities, Germany should be the most promising area abroad this year," Mr. Testa said. "We feel the recovery in Germany will be led by its exporting sector and, as a result, we like issues in fine chemicals and drugs, such as Altana, Schering and BASF." In Britain, he said, investments include British General Electric, Glaxo in drugs, I.C.I. in chemicals and G.K.N. in engineering.

Margaret Turner of Drexel Burnham Lambert also cited Germany, saying the mark was likely to rise. Among her recommendations were two chemical producers — BASF and Bayer — and the car-truck producer, Daimler-Benz.

One recurring favorite is West Germany's Deutsche Bank. "It's almost like buying a portfolio of stocks," explained Landon Thomas, executive vice president of Fidelity Trust, as banks in Germany have widespread holdings in domestic enterprises.

Fidelity Trust says that 40 percent of its equity mix outside of the United States has been invested in Japanese issues, with 10 percent in Australia and 10 percent in Southeast Asia. Australia, with its wealth of natural resources, is regarded as a critical supplier to Japan.

Depressed Japanese stocks that Mr. Thomas cited as possessing "potential for long-term growth" include Makino Milling (precision tools), Showa Musen (an electronics supplier), Fuji Sawa (pharmaceuticals), and Ito Yokado, a retail issue regarded as a "play" for domestic economic recovery.

Such experts advise investors to watch the American market for clues to the performance of those overseas. "An upturn in United States stocks," said Mr. Thomas, "should lead foreign markets higher."

Detroit: A Sign of the Times

DETROIT

The billboards along this city's busiest expressways flipped an extra digit on March 26, showing that Detroit had built one million cars so far this year. It was, however, no time for rejoicing. Last year, the million mark was hit exactly one month earlier, and that wasn't exactly a banner production rate either.

The three billboards are a constant reminder of the state of the city's life blood industry. And the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Corporation, better known around the nation for its blimp, is responsible for the reminder.

Goodyear erected the first billboard in 1964, a prosperous time for the auto industry, when 7,616,900 cars were sold and domestic manufacturers held 83.7 percent of the market.

The tire-maker, looking forward to more growth, commissioned two more billboards and, in 1973, a peak year for carmakers, added an extra slot to the boards in anticipation of car production reaching 10 million. It never did.

"Right after we did it production fell off," said Fred Stafford, vice president and account supervisor for Gannett Outdoor Advertising, which

leases the signs to Goodyear. "It was like the kiss of death."

The billboards, of course, don't reflect direct surveillance of every assembly line in town. A production forecast, taking into consideration such variables as plant closings and strikes, is obtained on Friday from the trade journal Automotive News and the figures are locked into the billboards' electronic system awaiting the beginning of a new production week at 8 a.m. Monday.

The signs are programmed to work at variable speeds in accordance with the production pace. The billboards can handle a car a second if the need ever arises. But these days, the rate has been one every seven to eight seconds.

Goodyear, which pays approximately \$25,000 a month to operate the billboards, has no intention of discontinuing the tallying signs despite the current automotive slump.

"They draw attention to the fact the economy stinks," acknowledged Jim Trace, manager of identification for Goodyear. "but they are still good publicity. When Detroit ceases to be the auto capital of the world we might discontinue them, but we haven't even discussed that." Stephanie Droll

THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

Unemployment at 9%; Key Indicators Off Again

The jobless rate reached 9 percent of the labor force last month, up from 8.8 percent in February. Plant closings and layoffs pushed the rate to its highest level since May 1978. Separately, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem and Wheeling-Pittsburgh announced temporary layoffs of 14,500 workers.

Leading indicators dropped three-tenths of 1 percent in February — the 10th consecutive monthly decline.

The money supply fell \$3 billion in the last week of March, the Federal Reserve said. Economists said upward pressure on interest rates might be eased by the decrease.

Stocks rallied. The Dow Jones industrial average gained 20.65 points on the week, closing at 838.57.

Factory orders rose nine-tenths of 1 percent in February, the first gain since November. The Commerce Department cited an increase in orders for military equipment.

New-home sales dropped 11.8 percent in February. President Reagan proposed an aid program for the housing industry but rejected "bailout schemes."

Allbritton in the News

Joe L. Allbritton (right), a Texas financier with a penchant for buying failing newspapers, last week agreed to buy The Daily News from its owner, the Tribune Company of Chicago. Mr. Allbritton has 30 days to negotiate staff cuts and other concessions with the New York tabloid's unions. If he is successful, he would buy the newspaper and its real estate holdings in Brooklyn and Queens but not the valuable Daily News building in Manhattan. Mr. Allbritton, chairman of the Allbritton Communications Corporation, is a former owner of the defunct Washington Star. Last fall he bought the ailing Trenton Times in New Jersey.



Construction contracts fell 16 percent in February, F.W. Dodge reported.

Farm prices fell eight-tenths of 1 percent in March, the Agriculture Department said.

International Harvester disclosed that it expected to lose \$518 million this year and was in danger of defaulting on its \$4.2 billion loan agreement this month.

AM International said it defaulted

on its \$115 million credit agreement with 21 banks.

Wickes shook up its management and chose Sanford Sigoloff, who has a reputation for reviving ailing companies, as president and chief executive.

Batus said its tender offer for Marshall Field's common shares had been oversubscribed, apparently clinching its bid for the Chicago retailer.

Stroh offered \$325 million for two-thirds of Schlitz.

The JWT Group said it found more irregularities in the syndication department of its J. Walter Thompson ad agency and said they exceeded \$30 million. Marie Luisi, a senior vice president was held responsible by the firm and was dismissed.

Chase Manhattan said it planned a big subsidiary for investment banking activities to put it in position should banks win broadened powers to deal in financial services.

Rear axles of General Motors vehicles in the 1978 to 1980 model years are the subject of a Transportation Department safety investigation. The study involves a possible hazard in 5.3 million vehicles.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED APRIL 2, 1982				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
Schlitz	3,682,400	14 1/4	+ 1/4	
IBM	3,308,800	61 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
Sony Cp	2,448,400	14 1/4	+ 1/4	
Sears	2,362,100	19 1/4	+ 1/4	
St O Ind	2,355,100	40	+ 2 1/2	
Exxon	2,331,200	28 1/2	+ 1/2	
G Mot	2,170,300	42	+ 1 1/2	
South Co	2,147,600	13 1/4	+ 1/4	
ATT	1,841,300	55 1/2	- 1	
Citi Svc	1,830,500	31 1/4	+ 1/4	
Tandy	1,833,700	31 1/4	+ 1/4	
Pen Ct	1,630,500	28 1/2	+ 1/4	
Pfizer	1,554,100	52 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
Ed Kod	1,480,300	73 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
RCA	1,439,900	21 1/4	+ 1/4	

Standard & Poor's				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
400 Indust	126.8	123.0	127.9	+3.76
20 Transp	18.2	17.7	18.4	+0.58
40 Util	53.1	52.1	53.3	+0.73
40 Financial	14.4	14.0	14.5	+0.27
500 Stocks	114.2	110.9	115.1	+3.16

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED APRIL 2, 1982				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
DomeP	947,800	7 1/4	- 1/4	
Supron	608,700	34 1/4	+ 1/4	
WangB	546,900	29 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
HouOTR	456,100	13 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
GHCd	420,500	10 1/4	+ 1/4	
DorGas	348,500	17 1/2	- 1/2	
HornHr	337,400	14 1/2	+ 2	
DataPd	315,200	22 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
Amidl	265,900	21 1/4	+ 1 1/2	
KeyPh	253,000	23 1/2	+ 1 1/2	

MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
1,288	559	2,107	71	80

VOLUME				
Company	Last Week	Prev. Week	Year To Date	
Total Sales	241,422,440	3,327,807,723		
Same Per. 1981	240,628,480	3,102,674,841		

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last	Net Change	
Indust	74.88	72.02	74.88	+2.35
Transp	56.84	55.33	56.84	+1.21
Util	58.94	58.99	58.94	+0.09
Finance	70.79	69.13	70.79	+1.16
Composite	66.22	64.27	66.22	+1.68

New York Stock Exchange

Indust	Transp	Util	Finance	Composite
74.88	56.84	58.94	70.79	66.22
72.02	55.33	58.99	69.13	64.27
74.88	56.84	58.94	70.79	66.22
+2.35	+1.21	+0.09	+1.16	+1.68

BROADWAY 80

i'm glad I changed...

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1982

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher

A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOWERS, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor

MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor

TOM WICKER, Associate Editor

JOHN D. POMFREY, Exec. V.P., General Manager
JOHN MORTIMER, Sr. V.P., Asst. to General Manager
DONALD A. NIZEN, Sr. V.P., Consumer Marketing
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising
J. A. RIGGS, Jr., Sr. V.P., Operations
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

Salvador Between Right and Wrong

Democracies are made, not born, and part of the making, once the people have spoken, is bargaining over who gets what offices. Americans do the people of El Salvador no favor by presuming to pick their leaders after last Sunday's stirring evidence that Salvadorans want to determine their own affairs. The whole point of that election was to have El Salvador deal with its own realities.

Overwhelmingly, the vote showed a yearning for law and order. In two years, El Salvador's civil war has cost some 30,000 lives in a population of 4.7 million. Small wonder that six of ten votes were cast for five right-wing parties allied to the ruling armed forces, each of them promising still more vigorous military measures to end the carnage.

But a substantial 40 percent voted for President Duarte's Christian Democrats. So if Social Democrats had not joined in a leftist boycott, claiming fear of assassination, centrists would probably have won a majority in the 60-member Constituent Assembly that is to become El Salvador's interim government. That is Mr. Duarte's reckoning and explains why he has been eager to create an opening to the democratic left.

As it is, neither side can fairly claim a monopoly on power while a new constitution and presidential election are prepared. That reality explains the frantic maneuvering to form the interim government. Because the elections were skewed to the right, the outcome cannot be construed as a compelling man-

date for a new wave of military repression, the undoing of land reform or a return to feudal oligarchy.

Or so most Americans believe. And what they believe is another reality that El Salvador's political leaders need to accept.

Self-determination cuts both ways. El Salvador's extreme right may turn spitefully against the center, invoking sovereign authority and an electoral mandate. But democracies elsewhere are not obliged to underwrite extremism. That is what Venezuela has been saying — and Venezuela provides even more economic support than the United States.

That is also what President Reagan seemed to be saying last week: "I think it would give us great difficulties if a government now appeared on the scene that totally turned away from the reforms that have been instituted." But "totally" is a strange word in that proposition, especially now that some State Department officials profess to find, conveniently, supposed liberals hiding in El Salvador's rightist closet.

Salvadoran rightists should not misconstrue American enthusiasm for the election. The election (and boycott) confirmed the fragmentation of the country's centrists and their inability to wrest control from the violent left and right. The praise is for the start of a process of humane political evolution. A ballot is not a blank check but a promissory note.

The President, the Poor and the Facts

President Reagan did not chide us by name in his news conference last week; he spoke merely of "an editorial in a paper this morning." But it seemed unmistakable from his comments that he was referring to our Wednesday criticism of his deep cuts in programs for children. Unfair, he suggested; if only we would look more carefully we would see he is spending more on such programs.

When you look more carefully and take our medicine if mistaken, and we have looked again. But that leaves us with two problems. First, meaning no disrespect, it sure looks as though it is Mr. Reagan who has his facts wrong. Second, why does that keep happening when he talks about the poor?

The President thinks we are wrong, for example, to think he is sharply cutting the WIC (women, infants, children) program that provides special food and care for babies and nursing mothers. Actually, he said, WIC has been merged with another program "and is in there at much greater money than it has ever had before."

Much greater money? This year, the WIC program will cost \$985 million. Another \$348 million is going to maternal and child health grants to the states. Those are the programs being merged; their combined spending now is thus \$1,333 billion. For the combined program, however, the President proposes to spend \$1 billion.

Mr. Reagan also offered up some facts that, if not mistaken, are misleading. "Food stamps," he

said, "over the last 15 years increased 16,000 percent." Right, but so what? One might as well point out that between 1911, when the President was born, and 1981, automobile sales increased 3,138 percent. That says nothing useful about the dismal state of auto sales. Neither does it mean anything to compare the present nationwide food stamp program with the tiny pilot program of 1966.

We have no desire to pick on Presidents. We cannot keep their minds stuffed with technical data, cannot be held accountable for the literal accuracy of every statistic. But they must be held accountable for a spirit of accuracy.

Note that we do not say a spirit of charity. If Mr. Reagan thinks he has to cut social spending to help right the economy, others might disagree, but he has earned the right to try. What he is not entitled to do is to cut spending for the poor and then claim that he is increasing it.

Something often seems to go wrong when he is asked about the poor. In September, he blamed the regulations deeming Ketchup to be a vegetable on bureaucratic saboteurs. The rule writers were his appointees. In January, he said a million more people were at work than a year before; in fact, employment was down about 100,000.

Perhaps it was possible to toss facts around unchallenged on the banquet circuit or the campaign trail. But does Mr. Reagan believe he can keep doing it as President, and on prime-time television? Does he think no one will notice, or care? Salesmanship is a priceless Presidential asset; so is credibility.

Recessionspeak

Robust sales and healthy profits speak for themselves; hard times call forth the deepest talents of financial public relations men. This year, more than ever, the evidence is available in the annual reports currently in the mail to millions of American shareholders.

At Caco Corporation, according to The Wall Street Journal, earnings fell 13 percent. But the company tells shareholders that it "enjoyed another good year," and that profits were "second only to the record achieved in (1980)." Mirro Corporation says that it has had a "milestone year." Indeed: it lost \$1.2 million and plans to sell half of its business.

This kind of recessionspeak, The Journal observes, "favors the passive voice, allowing troubled firms to depict themselves as victims of sinister

forces beyond their control." Two companies, borrowing from hyperpassive bureaucrats, complain they have been "impacted" by negative economic trends.

It's curious, perhaps, that economic downturn should force corporate executives to invest so heavily in rhetoric. Few readers are likely to be fooled, since the annual reports also contain the stark columns of numbers that expose the truth. Nor are the nation's shareholders necessarily unsympathetic to the idea that it's harder to make money in a recession.

The real explanation for the verbal gymnastics is probably just human. Making bad news look good requires only cleverness and skill with words; owning up to it requires courage.

Topics

Deflations

Math Myth

On the last night of his 20-year-old life, before dying in a duel, the 19th century French mathematician Evardiste Galois furiously scribbled out lines of the theories teeming in his mind, breaking off only to scrawl in the margin "I have not time." What he wrote in those last desperate hours, noted the historian Eric Bell, "will keep generations of mathematicians busy for hundreds of years."

Now this poignant story has been a trifle deflated by an article in Scientific American which holds that Galois was not writing out new theories but merely redefining an already written paper. The manuscript, an account of his celebrated theory of groups (invaluable for solving Rubik's cube), had been returned to him for revision before publication.

Historical accuracy is a fine thing, but what a niggling correction to so haunting a story. The essence of the

story, in any event, is true: Galois was senselessly killed in his prime, and he did spend his last night in desperate mathematical work. Studious historians have already robbed us of Archimedes' "Eureka!" and Galileo's "But still (the earth) moves." Let be Galois's "I have not time."

O Fortuna

We were reading about Mr. and Mrs. Peter McCoy in The Times and couldn't help but think of Carl Orff. Mr. McCoy is now a Commerce Department official after spending a year as head of Nancy Reagan's staff. The McCoy's find that "a certain magic" is gone; they are no longer in such demand socially. "It's a little bit disappointing, the people aspect of it," he says. "I guess there's a great base in Washington that responds to the Pennsylvania Avenue address." It's an old lesson, one offered re-

soundingly in "Carmina Burana," the masterwork of Carl Orff, the German composer who died last week. The texts are indisputably medieval. They date from the 13th century and were found in an old Bavarian monastery. The music, from urgent trumpet to whistling flutes, is indisputably modern. But the lesson of "O Fortuna," the major number, is not limited by century or continent.

On stage, dancing in a solemn circle, one sees a proud queen with a scepter, a beggar with a cup, a warrior with a sword, a shepherd with a crook, a cripple with a crutch. The music modulates and the players pass the props. Suddenly, the queen hunches over the crutch, the beggar struts with the scepter... and then, again, the music modulates and the props change hands. O Fortuna, variable as the moon, always dost thou wax and wane.

A song for Washington.
Copyright © B. Schepert's Songs 1981, renewed.

Letters

Who Wants Less Than Optimal Health Care?

To the Editor:

While it is doubtless true that, as in any industry, there is some mismanagement of resources in the field of health care, several aspects of health-care cost containment are usually glossed over when this subject is discussed in the press.

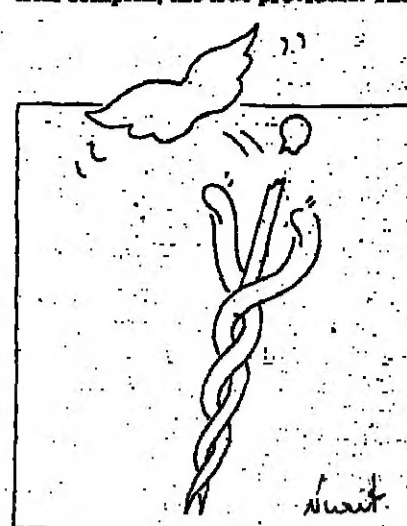
Whatever regulatory or free-market controls might be imposed on a physician's use of high technology or hospital beds, the consequences of "over-economy," when it occurs, become the physician's burden alone.

Legislative guidelines and regulations invariably deal with groups of patients with classes of medical problems, ignoring the concept of the individual with extenuating circumstances. It is easy for society to prescribe sweeping reductions in the "indiscriminate" use of high technology.

For the patient, however, denial of a diagnostic or therapeutic modality with even modest likelihood of benefit is greeted with anger or, if harm can be shown to have resulted in retrospective analysis, with cries of criminal negligence. Retrospective medical care requires far less training and expertise than the prospective variety.

Second, blame for the high cost of

health-care technology is usually placed squarely on physicians or hospitals, the true users of this technology, rather than on the medical-industrial complex, the true providers. The



soaring profits of these companies and their potential impact on health-care costs are rarely cited.

It is true as well that some of this technology is legitimately expensive and that our ability to advance science

is not matched by our ability or willingness to pay for it. No sooner does a technological advance arrive to improve the quality of medical care than we, as physicians, are forced to find ways to restrict its availability and use, a sad irony.

And society itself puts pressure on physicians to raise fees. Malpractice insurance rates for some specialties run in excess of \$40,000 a year. In New York, insurance providers recently submitted a request for a rate increase of over 200 percent. Whether justified or not by the size and number of malpractice settlements, these costs are borne by physicians and their patients regardless of how good an individual practitioner's care may be.

The rising cost of health care is clearly a problem beyond simple mismanagement of resources by hospitals and physicians. The people of this country must decide to what extent they will accept less than complete availability of advanced health-care technology but should not then punish their physicians for offering less than optimal care.

GERALD O. FRANKLIN, M.D.
Chappaqua, N.Y., March 28, 1982

Haig's Quarrel With Salvador's Electorate

To the Editor:

On the day of El Salvador's elections, Secretary of State Alexander Haig appeared on "Meet the Press" and implied that if the new government did not support land reform, the United States would reduce the level of its support to El Salvador. General Haig does not seem to understand what elections are about.

He says land reform is an "American objective" in the region, but is it what the people of El Salvador want?

In fact, land reform was the central campaign issue. The current regime of José Napoleón Duarte promised continued confiscation of private properties and their conversion into collective farms. The coalition of Robert d'Aubuisson asserted that this Reagan-backed policy was simply "communitarianism." The general electorate agreed with this "right-wing" characterization.

El Salvador was a growing, peaceful and prosperous ally of the United States in 1977 when President Carter's State Department, which lives on under General Haig, decided to

"break the mold" of the "feudal oligarchy" in Central America. This was nonsense. The conditions of agricultural employment in El Salvador were the same as applied on Jimmy Carter's peanut farm.

Our policies rent the social and economic fabric of the nation, at a cost so far of 30,000 lives, just as surely as Stalin's collectivization of the Ukraine cost three million lives.

Democratic elections are wonderful things because there is more wisdom in the masses than in the elites. The people of El Salvador were asked if they supported the proposition that it's good to confiscate the property of one group and "distribute" it to another (the state retains title to these "cooperatives"). Mr. d'Aubuisson's popular support stems from his ardent opposition to the Maoist collectivization of Salvador's farms.

How Ronald Reagan has come to be suckered into support of this "land reform" in Central America is one of the great practical jokes of our time.

JUDE WANNISKI
Morristown, N.J., March 29, 1982

A U.S. Attack on Small-Scale Public Transit

To the Editor:

The Reagan Administration is planning to eliminate operating subsidies to public transit by 1985. Ironically, it is not New York that will be most severely affected — it is the rest of the United States.

Since the New York transit system receives less than 10 percent of its operating budget from Federal subsidies, it can accommodate these cuts more easily, albeit painfully, than the many systems across the nation which heretofore New Yorkers have envied for getting far more of their operating funds from the Federal Government.

If Congress adopts the accelerated phase-out of transit operating funds, many systems, faced at the same time with urgent competing demands for scarce local revenues, will have to close down altogether or will severely curtail services. Even more than in New York City, where the majority of residents use transit to get to work, other transit systems, especially bus lines in smaller cities, serve the working poor.

A recent Federal Highway Administration study of national travel characteristics reveals that outside the New York metropolitan area nearly four million people daily use buses to get to

work. In New York City, the number of commuters by bus has declined from 1.4 million in 1970 to 1.1 million in 1978. If just 10 percent of these riders can no longer reach their jobs because public transit is unavailable to them, the working poor will eventually join the ranks of the welfare poor. Instead of contributing \$8,000 to the national economy, they would be drawing down almost an equal amount in welfare, Medicaid and other public entitlements.

The national cost — when including some loss in New York City — would exceed a billion dollars a year, which is about equal to the current level of Federal transit operating subsidies. Add to this the suffering by the elderly and the poor who depend on off-peak services (the first to be cut) to reach medical care and, increasingly, supermarkets.

While New York City needs transit subsidies to maintain its large and growing capital investment, smaller systems need them even more to survive. If Congress allows the proposed cuts to proceed, it will have to deal with still more entitlements and still higher budget deficits. And the Administration will get even greater problems in the bargain.

BRIAN T. KETCHAM
New York, March 29, 1982

'Burn-Out' Is Real, Cruel and Treatable

To the Editor:

I enjoyed Russell Baker's column on the romantic dalliances of Liz and Dick ("Star Failure," March 24) — until the final paragraph, in which he turned his attention to the phenomenon of "burn-out."

For its victims, burn-out is not "another foolish device for supplying the romance we yearn for," nor does it describe people who "couldn't do their work satisfactorily." It is a disability that affects people — usually in their middle years (35-54) — who perform at high level until stress and tension get to be too much for them. Burn-out is real and cruel, and its toll in absenteeism and lowered productivity — not to mention psychological pain — is immensely costly to our society.

Those of us who deal with victims of burn-out have no interest in the kind of "romantic fantasy" Mr. Baker suggests we invite. We examine ways in which those who suffer from this ailment can overcome it.

One way is for the victim to move laterally within his company. Another is a new career. Both approaches have served to recharge psychological batteries and have given new leases on life to people who thought they were no longer able to, in Mr. Baker's words, "cut the mustard."

"Burn-out" should not be used indiscriminately to describe job failure or personal inadequacy, but neither should it be made light of. It should be confronted with the tools and skills of behavioral science. Burn-out victims can be helped.

SOL LANDAU
Miami, March 29, 1982
The writer heads the Mid-Life Services Foundation.

The Federal Reserve's Hurtful Independence

To the Editor:

The independence of the Federal Reserve System and the importance of insulating the conduct of monetary policy from "politics" has been an article of faith among those who view themselves as approaching macroeconomic management with prudence. But recent experience suggests some basic questions about the wisdom of having an independent Fed.

The conduct of economic policy since the onset of the 1970's reveals the truth of the most basic textbook proposition: National economic policy requires the coordination of monetary and fiscal policy. The Fed's independence provides a double-barreled impediment to that coordination.

First, the fact that the Fed actually functions in an independent manner, coupled with the shroud of secrecy that has traditionally surrounded the operations of the Open Market Committee, means that the coordination of policy is difficult.

Much more important, however, is a subtle political impediment. Every

administration is under pressure to spend money, and history demonstrates that expenditures usually exceed revenues. The independence of the Fed permits an administration to avoid political responsibility for the consequences of loose fiscal policy by placing the full burden of restraint on monetary policy.

As a consequence, we have over the last decade seen an economic policy that is the opposite of what one would expect from a succession of Presidents expressing continuing concern with the rate of capital formation. Instead of a restrained budget deficit and readily available credit, which would have the effect of increasing savings available to private-sector users, we have seen loose fiscal policy and tight monetary policy — and the resultant stagflation and high interest rates.

Changing the status of the Federal Reserve is a step not to be taken lightly, but it does deserve close consideration by the Congress.

STEPHEN J. FRIEDMAN
New York, March 25, 1982



The New York Times Company

229 West 43d St., N.Y.C. 10018

Operating Groups

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Chairman
SYDNEY GRUBIN, Vice Chairman
WALTER MATTHEWSON, President
DAVID L. GORHAM, Senior Vice President
BERNARD HANDELMAN, Senior Vice President
MICHAEL E. RYAN, Senior Vice President
GUY E. GARBETT, Vice President
SOLOMON B. WATSON IV, Secretary
DENISE K. FLETCHER, Treasurer

JOHN D. POMFREY, Senior Vice President
CHARLES B. BRAKEFIELD, Vice President
WILLIAM H. DAVIS, Vice President
JOHN R. HARRISON, Vice President
WILLIAM T. KERR, Vice President

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Israeli Government's ouster of three elected Palestinian mayors from their West Bank posts confirms the end of what Israel once proudly called a "liberal" occupation policy. It also undermines a long-standing United States hope that the mayors might serve as intermediaries between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization in future peace moves.

Though small-town men, the West Bank mayors elected in 1976 were much more than mere administrators. They were the only democratically elected Palestinian officials anywhere. Those elections, more honest than the voting under Jordanian rule before 1967, were the showpiece of the policy devised by the late Moshe Dayan to allow West Bankers to live relatively normal lives and limit Israeli interference to security matters. Labor Party leaders were surprised when pro-P.L.O. men won in 1976, but they accepted the results.

But the new Israeli civilian administrator of the West Bank, Prof. Menachem Milson, has bitterly attacked Mr. Dayan's ghost since taking office in November 1981. He claims that Mr. Dayan's laissez-faire policies invited increased P.L.O. influence and intimidation on the West Bank. Israel, he insists, must promote institutions and leaders that suit its needs, and curb those that don't. Two pro-P.L.O. mayors were deported in 1980 and two others maimed in mysterious, unsolved car bombings in June 1980. Now the two injured mayors plus one more have been deposed for refusing to cooperate with the Milson administration, and have been replaced by Israeli officials.

Israeli authorities are hoping to bypass the mayors with village leagues headed by rural Palestinians backed by Israeli funding. Many prominent Israelis question this move. Gen. Shlomo Gazit, former Israeli military coordinator for the occupied territories,

Israel's Tightened Occupation

By Trudy Rubin

ries, labeled them "Quislings" on Israeli television, stating that it was much too late to create a West Bank leadership favorable to Israeli rule. But Israeli officials hope that ousting the mayors will help cut West Bank links with the P.L.O. and reconcile the population to Israeli rule.

This move ignores the role the mayors have played in maintaining an uneasy coexistence between Israel and the West Bankers. The Labor Party permitted elections because it wanted "someone to talk to" about the future of these areas. The mayors symbolized an open-ended occupation, one that would cease someday. This provided a safety valve for Palestinian frustrations. Removing the mayors signifies permanent occupation, pitting Israel directly against an occupied population without illusions of future freedom — a sure-fire prescription for continued unrest.

The Israeli move also fails to confront the key reason why support for the P.L.O. on the West Bank has grown. It is not simply a question of P.L.O. intimidation — or of political expediency. Support for the P.L.O. is support for a symbol — of nationalist aspirations, of links with Palestinians elsewhere, of international backing, and of hopes for ending the occupation. As these hopes recede, and violent incidents on the West Bank multiply, support for the symbol — even

among conservatives hostile to the organization — increases.

Like West Bank notables of every political hue, the mayors maintain communication with the P.L.O. — via telephone, personal emissaries, and visits abroad — on matters ranging from political advice to requests for municipal funding. But many of the mayors have more moderate ideas about solutions than does the P.L.O. Their family clans are conservative, with business ties to Jordan. Their proximity to Israel and their desire to end the occupation have bred a pragmatism lacking in Beirut. But while they may sometimes criticize Beirut's tactics, none would divorce himself from the P.L.O.

Their unique position brought United States officials to their doors, hoping the mayors would join the autonomy process, albeit with a P.L.O. green light. Mistrustful of Israel's limited definition of autonomy, the mayors refused. Whatever his wisdom, their decision was not simply a reaction to P.L.O. pressure. Several mayors insisted that if autonomy promised some form of self-determination, they would press the P.L.O. for a green light. One mayor, Elias Prije of Bethlehem, recently called publicly on the P.L.O. to move toward mutual recognition with Israel.

Perhaps the political divisions between Israel and the P.L.O. would have remained too great for the mayors to serve as useful intermediaries. But the mayors, as legitimate, if localized, Palestinian spokesmen, still held out that slim chance. Ironically, should they all be deposed, this might leave the United States with no widely accepted Palestinian leaders to speak to save the P.L.O.

Trudy Rubin has for the past four years reported from Jerusalem for The Christian Science Monitor and is author of a forthcoming book on the Palestinians.

PARIS — After nearly a generation of somnolence, the debate on nuclear weapons has suddenly fully emerged in the U.S. The arguments aren't new. The underlying strategy of using money to buy a doomsday threat instead of manpower for a large standing army goes back to John Foster Dulles's dread promise of "more bang for a buck."

As technology developed, so did the idea of smaller, short-range nuclear weapons and limited nuclear war, which is the meaning of John Kennedy's doctrine of "flexible response."

Bertrand Russell's "better Red than dead" was the slogan of the first nuclear disarmers, and it remains the menace inherent in the idea of abandoning defense.

Three elements in the situation are new. One is Soviet acquisition of a nuclear arsenal that threatens the U.S. and the rest of the world just as much as the U.S. can threaten. The question of superiority doesn't mean much. It is a political, not a military, calculation having to do with whether perceptions of risk are more or less likely to achieve what Americans call deterrence when speaking of their own policy and nuclear blackmail when speaking of Soviet policy.

The second change is the sheer quantity of nuclear weapons now in existence and the increased sophistication of delivery methods. Nobel Prize-winning physicist Linus Pauling has calculated that the total stockpile amounts to 500,000 megatons, which is about 100,000 times the total of explosives used during the whole of World War II. And the U.S. Administration now wants to build another 17,000 warheads for better weapons.

This has led to the third change, which is the reawakening to danger. The buildup (how can a nuclear warhead become obsolete?) has been going on all this time without attracting much attention because the political climate seemed to be improving and the assumption grew that nobody would ever use atoms for destruction again.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Nuclear Dilemma

By Flora Lewis

Increased tensions, fierce talks and what appears to be Washington's new enthusiasm for arms-racing in contrast to an aura of reluctance surrounding previous procurement have undermined that always fragile, uncertain assumption.

So now, people are prepared to argue the question of apocalypse again, at a level of danger far higher than it was during the first big debate.

It is not a simple question, or it would have been answered long ago. The complications do not stem from any wish for nuclear war. Fools cried "nukes 'em" during the frustrations of the wars in Korea, Vietnam and even the 1973-74 oil crisis. But nobody listened because everybody else understood, despite the passion of the conflicts, that we cannot consider these weapons a usable part of the armory.

The complications are there because peace is not the only issue. Security means more than peace and the outbreak of World War II showed that even peace can be lost if security is neglected. The record indicates that Hitler really wanted war. No doubt Moscow doesn't, anymore than the U.S. But there are possibilities, of internal upheaval, panic, desperation, which could sweep away the restraints.

There are profound reasons to refuse a

choice limited to Red or dead — and that way of putting it sacrifices fact to rhyme because the issue isn't Communism but Soviet power. The desire to resist is legitimate and compelling. There hasn't been any war between the members of NATO and those of the Warsaw Pact, and while we can't be sure that is because nuclear weapons exist, deterrence does seem to have worked.

Now some decisions must be made. The overwhelming moral argument for survival cannot be challenged. But what becomes of deterrence and the capacity to resist unacceptable pressure, the moral argument for security, if the West discards its weapons or promises never to use them first while refusing to mount effective conventional defense?

A simple freeze on all nuclear weapons at current levels would probably be impossible to verify, and I cannot reject the argument that some technological improvements can reduce rather than increase the chance that the weapons might ever be used. There is merit in distinguishing between "stabilizing" and "destabilizing" types. It is an intricate thesis but it is persuasive that submarine-launched missiles are in the first category and sea-launched cruise missiles in the second, for example.

A sense of approximate force balance is important, not only to security but to the confidence needed to reverse the arms race and contain peripheral conflicts. There is not, and won't be, any balance of debate because it simply isn't possible for the Soviet public to participate and to influence its leaders on these issues. That puts an extra burden on the American public.

The answer has to be an urgent, determined effort to reduce arsenals by agreement. It means accepting Soviet security concerns, being selective about new weapons and not trying to unsettle the Soviet regime, however hateful. The task of reforming it belongs to its own people. Ours is to maintain peace and win time for them to find a way.

Let's Exploit Moscow's Weakness

By Marshall I. Goldman

WELLESLEY, Mass. — Whether Leonid I. Brezhnev is merely fatigued or near death, it is clear that Soviet leaders have embarked on what may be far-reaching initiatives. His call for a freeze on placing missiles in Europe followed, immediately, by his appeal for better relations with China may be propaganda or a leader's attempt to take bold initiatives because he realizes little time is left to mark his place in history. It is even more likely that these initiatives also reflect fundamental pressures in the Soviet system itself.

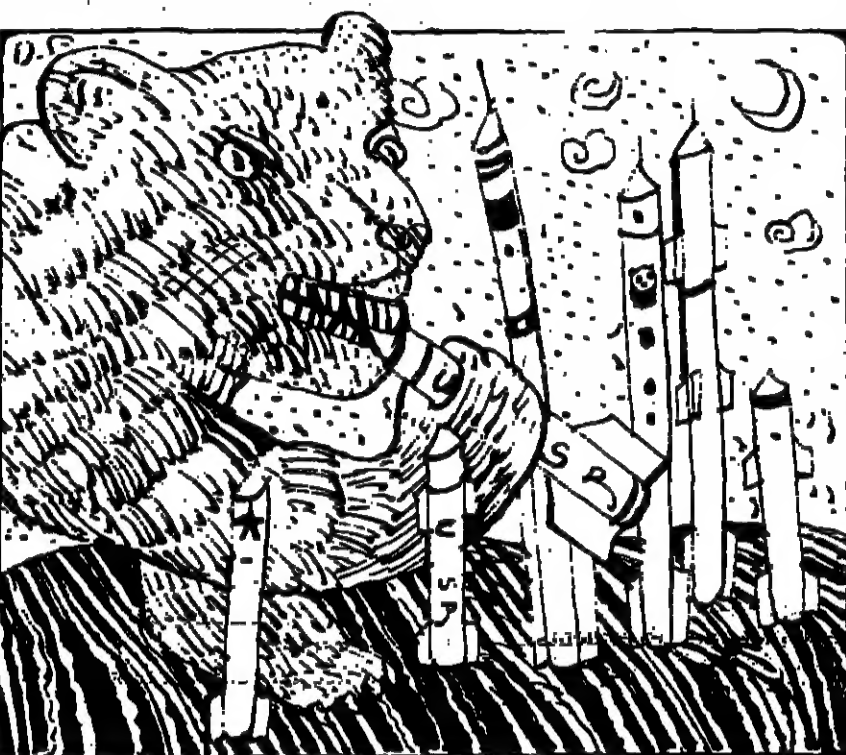
Thus, whether Mr. Brezhnev continues or is replaced, President Reagan may be making a mistake if he seems to turn aside Mr. Brezhnev's missile proposal. Unbalanced as Mr. Brezhnev's

initial plan may be, there is good reason to believe that he may have made his offer as a starting point for discussion. Certainly, he would like to end his reign with a reduction of tensions. But what may be important as anything else, he and the Politburo may have decided that they had to act to reduce pressures on their European and Chinese fronts because domestic economic circumstances are so desperate. They may have concluded that they cannot afford to continue their heavy military expenditures, given the need to devote increased resources elsewhere in the economy.

Mr. Brezhnev in an unusual comment reflected this pressure in his missile-freeze speech. Normally, Soviet leaders do not mention cost considerations when talking about military needs. Yet, he noted: "We have not spent, nor will we spend, a single ruble more for these purposes than is absolutely necessary."

Whatever the Soviet motive, there is no doubt that Kremlin leaders are facing the most severe economic problems since the 1940's. Moreover, the long-run prospects for fundamental improvement are very bleak.

Thus, even if the weather improves this year, there still will be fundamental agricultural shortcomings. Mr. Brezhnev himself has just acknowledged that the huge investment campaign in agriculture that has taken as much as 27 percent of total



Drawings by Douglas Florian.

investment has been wasted. Instead of smaller but more numerous grain elevators and barns, the Soviet Union built monstrous but remote warehouses; instead of farm-to-market roads, it built massive dams and

drainage systems. As a result, farmers often are isolated by mud three or four months a year and unable to move grain off fields or seed out of regional centers. Whatever the weather, it is no mystery why up to 25 per-

cent of the harvest never finds its way to processing centers.

This basic problem combined with three successive bad harvests has forced the country into the hard-currency markets for grain and beef. This harvest year's cost will be at least \$8 billion. In addition, the hard-currency expense of financing its empire in Afghanistan, Poland, and Cuba haunts the Soviet Union. But while needs have increased, the Soviet Union's ability to earn hard currency has diminished as petroleum and gold prices have fallen. This is a serious matter since the Soviet Union earns more than 60 percent of its hard currency from such exports.

The situation in industry is equally depressing. The Soviet Union has had almost no luck in mastering high technology. Computers are a rarity and the consumer electronics industry lags far behind the rest of the world's. Even more surprising, there are now serious problems in heavy industry. The Soviet Union used to boast how fast steel production grew; while it indeed produces more steel than the United States does, it produced less in 1981 than in 1978. Nor is there much sign of improvement. Steel production in January and February was about 5 percent below the figures for both months last year. In the same period, auto, cement, and paper production fell even more. In fact, production increased in only one or two industries, and of course the grain harvest

fell by more than 10 percent last year. Similar declines in production in the West are called a recession.

The drop in agricultural and industrial output means fewer goods for consumers and poorer morale. It is almost 65 years since the Revolution, but food rationing now has been reinstituted in nearly a dozen cities. No wonder worker discipline is so poor. Money has lost much of its value. Rumors spread about a currency reform that would wipe out deposits in savings banks. Frictions accumulate and generate nationalistic tensions and economic grievances. The result has been a growing number of riots and even strikes.

In the past, Americans frequently criticized our negotiators because they did not take advantage of Soviet weaknesses. In part, this was because we were unaware just how weak the Soviet Union was. Now we know. Given their problems, Soviet leaders may be prepared to cut back military expenditures and thus make some serious concessions. At a minimum, Washington should make a counteroffer to Mr. Brezhnev. We may lose a historic opportunity if we ignore this possible opening.

Marshall I. Goldman, professor of economics at Wellesley College and associate director of the Russian Research Center, at Harvard University, is author of the forthcoming "The Soviet Union in Crisis."

PRINCETON, N.J. — "The paranoid style in politics" — that was the phrase used by Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, United States representative to the United Nations, in dismissing allegations that the Administration is working to "destabilize" the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua.

In recent weeks, the Administration has roundly criticized the Sandinists for raising the largest military forces in Central America and for accepting modern arms from Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Administration's indictments make no mention, however, of the very real fears that its own barely clandestine efforts have aroused among Nicaraguans, and for which a military buildup is scarcely an unnatural response.

Hardly a day passes without new reports of forces being organized in neighboring Honduras and in Florida for operations in Nicaragua, of covert funding for domestic opponents of the Sandinist regime, and of overflights by United States reconnaissance aircraft.

The Central Intelligence Agency is said to draw a line at assisting former members of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle's hated National Guard. This it leaves to the less fastidious Argentines. To Nicaraguans, however, it makes relatively little difference whether the commandos that blow up a bridge or a power station on a particular day, are funded from Washington or from Buenos Aires. If Nicaragua's leaders are paranoid, they have much to be paranoid about.

From Washington or the United Nations, it is easy to charge that the Nicaraguans are building military forces much larger than those they need to protect their country. Managua scarcely has a monopoly on paranoia, however. In mid-March, Admiral Harry D. Train 2d, commander of North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces in the Atlantic, briefed a visiting group of foreign policy specialists at his Norfolk, Va., headquarters on the Soviet threat in the Caribbean.

We should appreciate, he said, what a barrier to communication within our

Paranoia

By Richard H. Ullman

own country the Appalachian Mountains present. To reach Europe, the industrial goods of the Middle West — be cited locomotives as an example — must be shipped from Gulf of Mexico ports. If war came, Moscow would aim to interdict that shipping. Soviet bases in Cuba would be a problem. Bases in Nicaragua and elsewhere in the area would compound it. The Navy would be able to cope with these threats, but only by diverting "assets" needed elsewhere.

This vision of global war in the nuclear era that would last long enough so that shipments to Europe of American locomotives would make a difference is indeed affecting. It justifies the Navy's nervousness over Nicaragua's military buildup — and perhaps as well its requests for more "assets."

But Washington's anxiety also runs in another direction. Nicaragua's forces "upset the military balance in Central America," the State Department says. The implication is clear. The Sandinists may well turn their large forces against their neighbors.

Yet we are never told why the Sandinists would want to embark on such a path. Not for territory, Nicaragua has a small population (2.7 million) and a large land area. Neither is imposing their ideology abroad a promising pursuit when the Sandinist leaders cannot agree among themselves about how pluralist their own country should be. The small democracy of Costa Rica, to the south, surely is immune to the Sandinist virus. Backward and underpopulated though Honduras, to the north, may be, it would

not be an easy conquest. Under assiduous United States tutelage, it is fast developing its own armed forces.

If these considerations did not cool the ardor now supposedly emanating from Managua, another should: The Reagan Administration would like nothing more than to catch the Sandinists in some old-fashioned, border-crossing aggression. What an opportunity for the Navy's carrier task forces to teach the Sandinists a lesson and to do so under the banner of the Organization of American States!

The Nicaraguans are unlikely to present that opportunity. They are, however, likely to continue their support of the guerrillas in El Salvador. That is the real cause of Washington's anger. Yet while the Sandinists undoubtedly have given sanctuary and supplied some arms to the Salvadoran insurgents, the Administration has yet to produce evidence that the flow of arms from Nicaragua has been of more than minor significance. When the Sandinists recently proposed that their border with Honduras be pa-

trolled by joint forces from both countries to assure Washington that arms were not slipping northward, the Administration's reply was to send 100 United States military advisers to Honduras. The Sandinists may well be pardoned for suspecting that one role for those advisers is to help train the paramilitary forces whose aim is to destabilize Nicaragua.

Mutual paranoia has fueled many a past war. The Sandinists have no illusions about the outcome if they escalate their quarrel with the North American colossus. That is why they now seem so anxious to negotiate terms of mutual respect. Washington should seize the opportunity. Bringing chaos and disorder to Nicaragua will not end the civil war in El Salvador. But it will fuel the fears of so many Latin Americans that what the Yankees cannot control they will destroy.

Richard H. Ullman is professor of international affairs, at Princeton University.

WASHINGTON

The New Abolitionists

By James Reston

ment, were then overwhelmed by his off-hand statements that "the truth of the matter is that on balance the Soviet Union does have a definite margin of (nuclear) superiority." The Soviet Union's "great edge," he concluded, "is one in which they could absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again."

This clearly did not achieve his objective of controlling the opposition to the nuclear arms race, but provoked more opposition for several reasons:

• First, even his own experts do not agree that the Soviets have a "great edge" or "a definite margin of superiority." This merely convinced his critics that he is careless with the facts. It also alarmed his supporters that they may be in even greater danger than they suppose.

• Second, his support for the Jackson-Warner-Perle Resolution for

"equal force level" negotiations raised a sticky point. It suggests that the arms race must go on until Mr. Reagan thinks the nuclear balance is "equal." This could be debated endlessly, for Washington and Moscow are in fundamental disagreement on the present balance of nuclear power, and with President Brezhnev in the hospital, there is little chance of any agreement on what is "equal."

• Finally, the President did not defuse the anti-nuclear protesters with his ambiguous proposals — maybe nobody could — because either he does not hear what they are saying, or would not agree with them if he did.

They are saying not only let's reduce nuclear weapons, but let's get rid of them. They are the New Abolitionists, not unlike the Old Abolitionists who fought for the abolition of slavery

in the 30 years before the War Between the States.

They are reminding us that nobody now in charge of nuclear policy here — not even General Haig — has ever seen a nuclear explosion. They are also recalling the United Nations report that the nuclear arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union now contain thousands of megaton nuclear weapons, "every one of which has a destructive power greater than that of all the conventional explosives that have ever been used in warfare since the day gunpowder was discovered."

Of course, the New Abolitionists are being mocked, like the Old Abolitionists, as crazy idealists, even as unpatriotic zealots playing the enemy's game, but they are insisting that life in a world of nuclear weapons in the hands of aging politicians who can't even agree on the facts, is a form of slavery that should be abolished.

Nevertheless, they are beginning to be heard. It took the Old Abolitionists over 30 years of fighting through the press and the churches before they finally got Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. It will probably take at least that much time before the human family is emancipated from nuclear weapons. But this is

likely to be a central issue of world politics for the rest of the century, and the New Abolitionists are organizing on every continent.

Not only for the abolition of nuclear weapons. The idea is beginning to get around that the menace of nuclear war, unemployment and hunger in a world spending over \$600 billion a year on weapons is not inevitable but intolerable. Before he died, President Eisenhower said that the people would one day rise up and demand an end to this madness, and it may be that this is now beginning, very slowly, to happen.



Arts & Leisure

By MELTON S. DAVIS

After long absences from the stage and screen, punctuated by appearances in mediocre or completely unsuccessful films, Richard Burton at last seems to have his teeth into something significant. He is here making a movie based on the life of Richard Wagner.

The 56-year-old Welsh actor is sitting quietly in an unheated room and waiting for the next scene to be shot in a salon of the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi where Wagner died. Despite the make-up, deep lines around his mouth seem to reveal the pain of a recent neck operation, which took place in Los Angeles at the end of the actor's cross-country tour with "Camelot." He leans back, head sunk on his chest, eyes closed, giving the impression of a kind, generous man contemplating a colorful and irregular life. Then, with a long, slow smile, he begins to talk.

"I think I'm emerging from a slump," he says. At this moment, he looks more like Beethoven than Wagner — the leonine head with its lofty brow, the majestic air, the craggy face lined with suffering and pain, not only from illness. Discussing the decline in his career, he rationalizes: "You reach the top of the heap, but it's a circle, and you slip on the down side, maybe for years. You get scared. Everyone runs into slumps, but it's more obvious with actors."

Playing the controversial composer is putting demands on Mr. Burton, who has provoked his own share of controversy, accompanied by charges that he has squandered his talent. He disagrees: "I've played a lot of kings and princes. Alexander the Great, saints and Becket, quite a few historical figures. I've always given my best."

The mesmerizing tones flow, rhythmic and resonant. Mr. Burton is still urbane, speaking with wit and flawless timing. He delights in recounting the extravagant exploits of his idols — "Jack" Barrymore, "Larry" Olivier and others, almost as if justifying his own life. "We were completely drunk, of course" is an oft-repeated phrase, and here a note of nostalgia creeps in. What has happened to the notorious drinker? "Don't drink much now. I feel so ill the next day, it's not so much fun."

Has he read any of the Wagner biographies? "As many as I could." What of the seven written about himself? "I made it part way through one. Boring. But I did learn I was part Polish-Jewish, on the paternal side. I checked and it seems to be so."

He points out that the Welsh, too, are a minority. The differences between Wagner's life and his? "He was a genius, I'm not. I had almost immediate money and recognition,

'You reach the top of the heap, but it's a circle, and you slip on the down side, maybe for years. You get scared.'

he had to fight for it. Besides, Wagner needed critical friends. I have the taffies, my Welsh friends."

"Wagner" is a lavish production, costing \$10 million dollars and taking seven months to film, with everything being shot precisely where the composer lived and worked: Vienna, Budapest, Siena, Munich, Venice, Nuremberg, Bayreuth. The film benefits from a formidable cast: Vanessa Redgrave is Wagner's second wife Cosima. The young English actress Gemma Craven plays his first wife Minna. In cameo roles as Cabinet ministers to King Ludwig of Bavaria are England's most noble thespians: Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud and Ralph Richardson, all three appearing together for the first time. Others among those holding the more than 120 speaking parts are Joan Plowright, Franco Nero, Marthe Keller, Daphne Wagner (great granddaughter of the composer) and opera stars Peter Hofman and Gwyneth Jones. Georg Solti, principal conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, will direct the music.

Planned originally as an eight-part television serial, then as a two-part theatrical release, "Wagner" is now to be a three-hour feature scheduled for release in February 1983, the centenary of Wagner's death. It will subsequently be shown on television as a mini-series. This change came about after initial rushes were seen in Vienna. They were so impressive that executive producer Derek Brierley flew them to Hollywood last month and showed them to studio chiefs, several of whom made offers that are being negotiated.

This independent British production — financed by a London insurance company — is being directed by Tony Palmer, the only two-time winner of the Prix Italia. Having done 42 documentaries and seven shorter films in the

Melton S. Davis frequently reports on the arts in Italy.

Richard Burton Takes On a Titan — Wagner



Richard Burton in the film "Wagner" — "He must have been extraordinary."

past eight years, he is used to working fast. Although "Wagner" is his first dramatic picture, he is days ahead of schedule. The secret? "Short temper," says an actress. "No," insists Mr. Palmer, "panic."

"It's a historically authentic portrait of Wagner," he says, "as far as facts go. Interpretation is another thing. I've been working on this for six years, before I had a producer. More books — 22,500 — have been written about Wagner than about anyone except Jesus Christ. But the prime source and guiding light has been Wagner's grandson Wolfgang. Charles Wood and I went to see him, and for some reason he trusted us. He told us how, as a political refugee in 1839, Wagner was pursued by Cossacks' bear Riga and how a storm buffeting his ship gave him the inspiration for 'The Flying Dutchman.'"

When the script was completed, the director and writer had to act out all the parts in front of the Wagner family. Afterwards, Wolfgang delivered lengthy notes. "It was like a seminar," Mr. Palmer recalls. The result, according to the director, is a large-scale view of the man. "He led an extraordinary life, one momentous event after another," Mr. Palmer says.

Indeed, the portrait of Wagner as painted by this film would seem to mirror the generally accepted view of the composer, without attempting to provide what could be deemed controversial interpretations of facets of his tumultuous career.

The picture begins with a letter to Wagner from one of his many lovers. It takes him back over his whole life, a crowd of memories that converge in the moments before his death. Although he was born in 1813 in Leipzig, his life is recounted from the age of 35. As an obsessive gambler, drinker and womanizer, it was riotous. In debt continually, he fled creditors. Moving from one place to another, his ties — more sentimental than political — with revolutionary movements led him to the barricades with the anarchist Bakunin.

After revolution failed and Wagner was being sought by the police as a terrorist, he took refuge in Sweden, where he worked as a conductor. He then went to Weimar, where he became friends with the composer Liszt and then to Zurich for seven years of exile. In 1861, he returned to Germany. A year later he traveled to London and Paris where his "Tannhäuser" provoked one of the greatest scandals in the annals of opera. Only a few friends, like Baudelaire, sustained the composer, who, having lost hope of making a name for himself abroad, again returned to Germany.

In 1864, he began a curious relationship with Ludwig, the mad King of Bavaria. Although Ludwig was his admirer and protector, Wagner's greed, avidity and spendthrift ways were too much for the King's ministers. In 1866, Wagner was expelled and went to Lucerne. There he met Nietzsche and married Cosima, Liszt's illegitimate daughter, who had divorced her husband for Wagner.

But, meanwhile, he kept writing a new kind of opera. He was the first to accent the semantic value of music, writing his own librettos. He replaced the old recitative with melodically expressive declaration.

In the film, Wagner meets and fights with music publishers, conductors, musicians and theater owners. Wagner's meanness of spirit and egomania are presented frankly. "He was destructive," says Mr. Palmer, "greedy, unfaithful, a liar, a charming, affable man who took people's wives, homes and money, yet remained their friend. Not

someone you'd want to invite to dinner. There was his anti-Semitism, too."

His proto-Nazi stance? "He was a revolutionary, not a radical, a nationalist who wanted a strong leader to unite a divided Germany." One of the film's controversial points is that the emotional center of Wagner's turbulent life was not his second wife Cosima, as supposed, but his first wife Minna.

"Their unhappy marriage," says the director, "their separation and her death colored his later relationships, probably explaining Wagner's hundreds of affairs. One of them may have led to his death." Mr. Palmer was referring to a love letter from Carrie Pringle, a flower maiden in the first performance of "Parsifal," that was opened by Cosima, who, not altogether carried by her advanced age, rushed angrily to Wagner with the missive.

"Undoubtedly," says the director, "the relationship with Minna, the ambiguous one with Ludwig, his readiness to lie and accept compromise makes Wagner a far from likeable character." Mr. Palmer is convinced, however, that the public will be attracted by the greatness of a man who, although always on the run, managed tenaciously to achieve a great revolution in art and in the concept of the theater.

He also counts on the charisma of the man playing Wagner: Richard Burton. "He's anxious to be involved," says Mr. Palmer. "He's first on the set and word perfect. Besides, he, like Wagner, fascinates people." Are there other similarities? "I find them both accessible to compromise. They have both been sucked in by money and the main chance from time to time, while retaining immense strength."

Vittorio Storaro emphasizes the likeness, saying that if at the beginning Richard Burton was only an actor who resembled Wagner, now he has become Wagner. "It's not only his face, it's his whole being, like Brando."

But the director says, "I'm not after look-alikes. Richard can make Wagner come alive, make him believable."

Mr. Burton's next scene is in a garden with Cosima's father, Liszt. He has a demanding two-minute speech, but there are five takes. On the first the sun comes out, on the second a dog barks, and on the next two the camera is out of focus. But each time Mr. Burton speaks his part perfectly. After, he says of the actor playing Liszt, Ekkehard Schall of the Berliner Ensemble, "One of the world's great actors. It's such a challenge. You finish shooting one day with a great actor and the next day another shows up."

It's time for lunch, prepared on the lunch boat with which the English caterers follow locations in Venice. Everyone in the 75-person crew eats well: roast suckling pig, salad, fruit, even hothouse grapes. Indeed, the troupe is cosseted by an efficient organization that in Venice alone has utilized 14 motorboats, gondolas and barges, as well as 11 walkie-talkies.

Miss Redgrave appears, ready for the filming of the death scene. "I've been looking forward to working with Richard," the English actress says. "I've admired him since he played with my father at Stratford-on-Avon." What makes him a good actor? "The immediacy of his communication."

The director had been an assistant to Ken Russell when she did "Isadora." "I admire Tony's desire to tell history as it really happened," she says. "I play the formidable Cosima, a monster. And, of course, so was Wagner, who, despite Cosima's version of a peaceful demise, collapsed and died during a fight with her."

Before this scene is shot, Mr. Burton is closeted with the actress. When he appears, as Wagner at 70, all in black, his

hair white, his green-blue eyes hard, cutting, a respectful silence is unbroken. It's all over in four takes.

That night Mr. Burton is in the small, crowded dining room of the Gritti Palace on the Grand Canal. He toys with his food but displays no such indifference to the wine.

"Oh, I've died so often, in films and plays," he says, "but the camera is relentless. When I was doing the scene I thought, 'How do you make your eyes die?' You can't just close them. I kept asking Vanessa, 'Did you see death in my eyes?' When she said, 'Yes, I knew I'd got it.'"

What were they talking about earlier? "Lear, which I hope to do on Broadway next year. But first I must get the strength back in my arms. In the fifth act I pick up Cordelia, and Vanessa is a big girl. Playing Lear, a Welshman, has been a 20-year dream of mine."

How does he feel about playing a heartless character like Wagner? "I've done Macbeth, who is a murderer. But I'm not." What kind of Wagner is he depicting? "Extraordinarily egocentric, unconsciously funny. In fact, a buffoon. But he must have had something extraordinary about him to persuade all those people to give him money and enable him to seduce all those ladies." There's a pause, as Mr. Burton drinks his wine.

Are the excesses permitted a musical genius also permitted actors of great talent? "Poets, painters, even actors are permitted anything as long as they turn it out."

He sits there almost like a statue slightly chipped and humanly flawed by the turbulent, spectacular years. The talk turns to maturity and age.

"When I was 27, I did 'Hamlet.' Several years later, I did it again and was able to discover all sorts of insights. I may be a late developer, just coming into my own. I've been digging around in the acting profession for years, and it's now that I think I'm at my best as an actor. In almost every

'Wagner was a genius, I'm not. I had almost immediate money and recognition. He had to fight for it.'

artistic career, at a certain period, there's an enormous burst of energy. Take Shakespeare — his early plays are relatively indifferent, the middle comedies begin to show his genius and then there's that tremendous burst of energy that produces the five great tragedies. Energy is so important to an actor. At first, my acting was physical. I charged into parts like a bull. Now I don't use as much energy. Experience comes into play. That's why I'm not frightened of aging."

Does he have any regrets, any misgivings about the past? "I can only say, with Edith Piaf, 'Je ne regrette rien.'"

What will he do when he's finished acting? "I'll go to Wales," he answers. "I'll sit on the edge of the murderous sea in that murderous weather, and I'll shake and shiver a lot. Hopefully there'll be someone there by my side."



Bridge the Gap

New York-Los Angeles
Chicago-Philadelphia
Miami-Boston-Toronto
Montreal-London
Manchester-Paris
Zurich-Luxembourg
Buenos Aires-Sao Paulo
Caracas-Mexico City
Montevideo-Punta del Este
Panama City-Cayman Islands

And over 230 branches of the group's bank

As our world grows smaller, business interests get bigger. More and more, you demand international banking services.

With over \$17 billion in assets and 60 years of experience, Bank Hapoalim is Israel's leading bank in growth and profits. Ready to provide you with all correspondent banking facilities, marketing and investment services, in Israel and the world's major financial centers. The comprehensive banking services today's international business community demands.

Bank Hapoalim - the bridge to your expanding interests abroad.

Head office: 50 Rothschild Blvd. Tel Aviv, Israel

Isn't it time you met us.

Bank Hapoalim



Ekkehard Schall, as Frantz Liszt, with Mr. Burton in "Wagner"

Handwritten signature: J. H. H. H.